THE

HISTORICAL WORKS

Of the Reverend

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,

D. S. P. D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING

The HISTORY of the four laſt Years of the QUEEN.

GLASGOW:
Printed for ROBERT URIE.
MDCCLXIX.

BRITISH MUSEUM
15
67
JUN

PREFACE.

HAVING written the following Hiſtory at Windſor, in the happy reign of her Majeſty Queen ANNE, *of ever glorious, bleſſed, and immortal memory; I reſolved to publiſh it for the ſatisfaction of my fellow-ſubjects in the year* 1713: *but, being under a neceſſity of going to Ireland, to take poſſeſſion of the deanry of St. Patrick's, Dublin; I left the original with the miniſters; and having ſtaid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found, at my return, that my lord treaſurer Oxford, and the ſecretary my lord Bolingbroke, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publiſhing it, without ſome alterations which I could not ſubmit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majeſty's death, which happened about a year after.*

I have ever ſince preſerved the original very ſafely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the German family's ſucceeding to the

crown; which, indeed, was their undoubted right, having been eſtabliſhed ſolemnly by the act of an undiſputed parliament, brought into the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Harley, who was then ſpeaker.

But, as I have ſaid in another diſcourſe, it was very well underſtood, ſome years before her majeſty's death, how the new king would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of thoſe (and thoſe alone) whom he reſolved to truſt; and conſequently what reports would induſtriouſly be raiſed, as well as ſpread, to expoſe the proceedings of her majeſty herſelf, as well as of her ſervants; who have been ever ſince blaſted as enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, by the moſt ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to be daily converſant with the perſons then in power; never abſent in times of buſineſs or converſation, until a few weeks before her majeſty's death; and a witneſs almoſt of every ſtep they made in the courſe of their adminiſtration; I muſt have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than thoſe miſerable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the ſame time, I freely confeſs, it appeared neceſſary as well as natural, upon ſuch a mighty change as the death

of a ſovereign, that thoſe who were to be in power upon the ſucceſſion, and reſolved to act, in every part, by a direct contrary ſyſtem of politics, ſhould load their predeceſſors with as much infamy as the moſt inveterate malice and envy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt ſtupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could ſwallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write, with the utmoſt impartiality, the following hiſtory of the four laſt years of her majeſty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced perſons at preſent, as well as poſterity; I am perſuaded in my own mind, as likewiſe by the advice of my wiſeſt and oldeſt friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to ſet future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful hiſtorian, I cannot ſuffer falſhoods to run on any longer, not only againſt all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even againſt thoſe happy events, which owe their ſucceſs to the very meaſures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials of this hiſtory, beſides wat I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence repoſed in me for thoſe four years, by the chief perſons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters writ-

ten by our ambaſſadors abroad, and from the anſwers as well as inſtructions ſent them by our ſecretaries of ſtate, or by the firſt miniſter the earl of Oxford. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the ſecretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention ſeveral memorials given me by the miniſters at home. Further, I was a conſtant witneſs and obſerver of all that paſſed, and entered every particular of any conſequence upon paper.

I was ſo far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majeſty iſſued a proclamation, offering 300 l. *to any perſon who would diſcover the author of a certain ſhort treatiſe* *, *which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one ſhilling from the miniſtry, or any other preſent, except that of a few books; nor did I want their aſſiſtance to ſupport me. I very often dined indeed with the treaſurer and ſecretary; but in thoſe days that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time ſince. I abſolutely refuſed to be chaplain to*

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

the lord treaſurer; becauſe I thought it would ill become me to be in a ſtate of dependence.

I ſay this to ſhew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of perſons and affairs. I preſerved ſeveral of the oppoſite party in their employments, who were perſons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Congreve, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treaſurer, who much eſteemed them both; and, by his lordſhip's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. Steele might have been ſafe enough, if his continually repeated indiſcretions, and a zeal mingled with ſcurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberleſs prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of thoſe who, to ſerve their own intereſt or ambition, have caſt off all religion, morality, juſtice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the preſent age, yet I hope to be ſo in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of England, if either of theſe ſhall then ſubſiſt or not.

I have no intereſt or inclination to palliate the miſtakes, or omiſſions, or want of ſteadineſs, or un-

happy miſunderſtandings among a few of thoſe who then preſided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of ſuperficial and ill informed writers, againſt the conduct of thoſe who are now called prime miniſters: And, ſince factions appear at preſent to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not ſo equally poiſed; it may probably concern thoſe who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memoirs in future ages, to be leſs warm againſt others who humbly differ from them in ſome ſtate-opinions. Old perſons remember, at leaſt by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed againſt the firſt earl of Clarendon, whoſe character, as it now ſtands, might be a pattern for all miniſters; although even biſhop Burnet of Sarum, whoſe principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are ſo little eſteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treaſurer and ſecretary Bolingbroke, after my utmoſt endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them; I retired to a friend at Berkſhire, where I ſtaid until her majeſty's death; and then immediately returned to my ſtation in Dublin, where I continu-

ed about twelve years without once ſeeing England. I there often reviewed the following memoirs; neither changing nor adding, farther than by correcting the ſtile: and, if I have been guilty of any miſtakes, they muſt be of ſmall moment; for, it was hardly poſſible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I ſhall not be very uneaſy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be caſt upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the preſent prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the leaſt inconſiſtence with conſcience or honour, upon the death of ſo excellent a princeſs as her late majeſty, for a wiſe and good man to ſubmit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Proteſtant ſucceſſor: whoſe hereditary title was confirmed by the queen, and both houſes of parliament, with the greateſt unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance ſhould be a guarantee of that ſucceſſion. Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther; that if the negotiators of that peace had been choſen out of the moſt profeſſed zealots for the intereſts of the Hanoverian family, they could not have bound up the French king, or the Hollanders, more ſtrict-

ly than the queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the preſent ſucceſſion; which was in them ſo much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, becauſe they perfectly well knew, that they ſhould never receive the leaſt mark of favour, when the ſucceſſion had taken place.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK I.

I PROPOSE to give the public an account of the moſt important affairs at home, during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, as well as our negociations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but ſome time before and ſince. I ſhall relate the chief matters tranſacted by both houſes in that ſeſſion, and diſcover the deſigns carried on by the heads of the diſcontented party, not only againſt the miniſtry, but in ſome manner againſt the crown itſelf: I likewiſe ſhall ſtate the debts of the nation, ſhew by what miſma-

nagement, and to ſerve what purpoſes, they were at firſt contracted, by what negligence or corruption they have ſo prodigiouſly grown, and what methods have ſince been taken to provide not only for their payment, but to prevent the like miſchief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I ſhall ſtrictly follow truth, or what reaſonably appeared to me to be ſuch, after the moſt impartial inquiries I could make, and the beſt opportunities of being informed by thoſe who were the principal actors or adviſers.

Neither ſhall I mingle panegyric or ſatire with an hiſtory intended to inform poſterity, as well as to inſtrnct thoſe of the preſent age, who may be ignorant or miſled; ſince facts, truly related, are the beſt applauſes, or moſt laſting reproaches.

Diſcourſes upon ſubjects, relating to the public, uſually ſeem to be calculated for London only, and ſome few miles about it; while the authors ſuppoſe their readers to be informed of ſeveral particulars, to which thoſe that live remote are, for the generality, utter ſtrangers. Moſt people, who frequent this town, acquire a ſort of ſmattering, (ſuch as it is,) which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by innuendoes, or hints at facts or perſons,

initial letters of names, wherein gentlemen at a diſtance, although perhaps of much better underſtandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that theſe memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and uſeful, it will be convenient to give the reader a ſhort view of the ſtate and diſpoſition of affairs, when the laſt ſeſſion of parliament began; and becauſe the party leaders, who had loſt their power and places, were, upon that juncture, employing all their engines in an attempt to re-eſtabliſh themſelves, I ſhall venture one ſtep farther, and repreſent ſo much of their characters, as may be ſuppoſed to have influenced their politics.

On the ſeventh day of December, 1711, began the ſecond ſeſſion of parliament. It was now above a year ſince the queen had thought fit to put the great offices of ſtate, and of her houſhold, into other hands. However, three of the diſcontented lords were ſtill in poſſeſſion of their places; for the duke of Marlborough continued general, the duke of Somerſet maſter of the horſe, and the earl of Cholmondely treaſurer of her majeſty's houſhold: likewiſe great numbers of the ſame party ſtill kept employments of value and importance, which had not been uſual of late years upon any change of a miniſtry. The queen, who

had judged the temper of her people by this houſe of commons, which a landed intereſt had freely choſen, found them very deſirous of a ſecure and honourable peace, and diſpoſed to leave the management of it to her own wiſdom, and that of her council. She had therefore, ſeveral months before the ſeſſion began, ſent to inform the States-general of ſome overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and during that ſummer her majeſty took ſeveral further ſteps in this affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congreſs for a general treaty at Utrecht was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negociations between our court and that of France, I ſhall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot with reſpect to its debts; for the earl of Oxford, lord treaſurer, had, in the preceeding ſeſſion, propoſed and effected ways and means in the houſe of commons, where he was then a member, for providing a parliamentary fund to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greateſt part lay npon the navy) without any new burden, at leaſt after a few years, to the kingdom, and at the ſame time he took care to prevent further incumberances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval proviſions, which have ſaved

the public ſomewhat more than cent per cent in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the intereſts and the meaſures of the preſent miniſtry, which had appeared ſo boldly in their defence, during a proſecution againſt one of their members, where the whole of their ſacred order was underſtood to be concerned. The zeal ſhewn for that moſt religious bill to ſettle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of London, was a freſh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified by her majeſty chuſing one of their body to be a great officer of ſtate *.

By this time likewiſe all diſputes about theſe principles, which uſed originally to divide whig and tory, were wholly dropped; and thoſe fanatical words ought in juſtice to have been ſo too, provided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to diſtinguiſh lovers of peace, from lovers of war, or thoſe who would leave her majeſty ſome degree of freedom in the choice of her miniſters, from others who could not be ſatisfied with her chuſing any, except ſuch as ſhe was moſt averſe from. But where a nation is once divided, intereſt and animoſity will keep

* Dr. Robinſon, lord biſhop of Briſtol, to be lord privy-ſeal.

open the breach, without being ſupported by any other principles; or, at worſt, a body of diſcontented people can change, and take up what principles they pleaſe. As to the diſpoſition of the oppoſite party, we all remember, that the removal of the laſt miniſtry was brought about by ſeveral degrees; through which means it happened, that they and their friends were hardly recovered out of one aſtoniſhment, before they fell into another: this ſcene laſted for ſome months, and was followed by a period of rage and deſpair natural to thoſe, who reflect that they have loſt a ſecure game by their own raſhneſs, folly, and want of common management, when at the ſame time they knew, by experience, that a watchful and dexterous adverſary lay ready to take the advantage: however, ſome time before the ſeſſion, the heads of that party began to recollect themſelves, and rally their forces, like an enemy that had been beaten out of the field, but finds he he is not purſued; for although the chiefs of this faction were thought to have but little eſteem or friendſhip for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general end of diſtreſſing, by all poſſible methods, the new adminiſtration, wherein if they could ſucceed ſo far as to put the queen under any great neceſſity, another parliament muſt

be called, and perhaps the power devolve again into their own hands.

The iſſue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houſes, although under a different form, upon the very firſt day the parliament met, I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greateſt privacy and application, which muſt be acknowleged to have, for ſeveral days, diſconcerted ſome of the miniſtry, as well as diſpirited their friends, and the conſequences whereof have in reality have been ſo pernicious to the kingdom.

But becauſe the principal leaders in this deſign are the ſame perſons, to whom, ſince the loſs of their power, all the oppoſition has been owing, which the court received either in treaties abroad, or the adminiſtration at home, it may be not improper to deſcribe thoſe qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appears chiefly to have influenced them in acting their ſeveral parts upon the public ſtage; for I do not intend to draw their characters intire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpoſe, but ſhall only ſingle out thoſe paſſions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were moſt likely

to transfer into their political ſchemes, and which were moſt ſubſervient to the deſigns they ſeemed to have in view.

The lord Sommers may very deſervedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party: he hath raiſed himſelf by the concurrence of many circumſtances, to the greateſt employments of the ſtate, without the leaſt ſupport from birth or fortune; he hath conſtantly, and with great ſteadineſs, cultivated thoſe principles under which he grew. That accident which firſt produced him into the world, of pleading for the biſhops whom king James had ſent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honourable as it is fortunate; but the old republican ſpirit, which the Revolution had reſtored, began to teach other leſſons; that ſince we had accepted a new king from the Calviniſtical commonwealth, we muſt likewiſe admit new maxims in religion and government: but ſince the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the eſtabliſhed church, and to the rights of monarchy, as delivered down from their anceſtors, it was the practice of theſe politicians to introduce ſuch men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from thoſe to whom they owed their birth. Of this num-

ber was the perſon I am now deſcribing: I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to preſerve the favour of a prince; never offending in word or geſture, which were in the higheſt degree courteous and complaiſant, wherein he ſet an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow: but this extreme civility, which is univerſal and undiſtinguiſhed, and in private converſation, where he obſerved it as inviolably as if he were in the greateſt aſſembly, is ſometimes cenſured as formal.

Two reaſons are aſſigned for this behaviour: Firſt, That from the conſciouſneſs of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmoſt diſtance, which otherwiſe might be apt to intrude. The ſecond, That being ſenſible how ſubject he is to violent paſſions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching thoſe he converſes with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and reſpect. And it is indeed true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the leaſt appearance of provocation; which temper he ſtrives to ſubdue with the utmoſt violence upon himſelf; ſo that his breaſt has been ſeen to heave, and his eyes to ſparkle with rage, in thoſe very moments when his words, and the cadence of his voice,

were in the humbleſt and ſofteſt manner. Perhaps, that force upon his nature may cauſe that inſatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who, conſequently reckon diſſimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he hath none, and his ambition is gratified by being the unconteſted head of his party. With an excellent underſtanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taſte for converſation, to which he prefers the pleaſure of reading and thinking, and in the intervals of his time amuſeth himtelf with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite ſervant.

Theſe are ſome few diſtinguiſhing marks in the character of that perſon who now preſideth over the diſcontented party, although he be not anſwerable for all their miſtakes; and if his precepts had been more ſtrictly followed, perhaps their power had not been ſo eaſily ſhaken. I have been aſſured, and heard him profeſs, that he was againſt engaging in that fooliſh proſecution of Dr. Sacheveral, as what he foreſaw was likely to end in their ruin: that he blamed the rough demeanour of ſome perſons to the queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that when it appeared her majeſty was firmly reſolved into a

treaty of peace, he adviſed his friends not to oppoſe it in its progreſs, but find fault with it after it was made, which would be a copy of the like uſage themſelves had met with after the treaty of Ryſwick, and the ſafeſt, as well as the moſt probable way of diſgracing the promoters and adviſers. I have been the larger in repreſenting to the reader ſome idea of this extraordinary genius, becauſe whatever attempt hath hitherto been made with any appearance of conduct, or probability of ſucceſs, to reſtore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I propheſy the ſame for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of buſineſs.

The duke of Marlborough's character hath been ſo variouſly drawn, and is indeed of ſo mixed a nature in itſelf, that it is hard to pronounce on either ſide, without the ſuſpicion of flattery or detraction. I ſhall ſay nothing of his military accompliſhments, which the oppoſite reports of his friends and enemies among the ſoldiers, have rendered problematical: but if he be among thoſe who delight in war, it is agreed to be not for the reaſons common with other generals. Thoſe maligners, who deny him perſonal valour, ſeem not to conſider that this accuſation is charged at

a venture, ſince the perſon of a wiſe general is too ſeldom expoſed, to form any judgment in the matter; and that fear, which is ſaid to have ſometimes diſconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himſelf. He was bred in the height of what is called the tory principle, and continued with a ſtrong biaſs that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in ſome ſort ſupplied by a good underſtanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowlege of the world, which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his ſoliciting to be general for life. I am perſuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquiſites by continuing the war, and that he had then no intention of ſettling the crown in his family, his only ſon having been then dead ſome years before. He is noted to be maſter of great temper, able to govern, or very well diſguiſe his paſſions, which are all melted down or extinguiſhed in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with reſpect of money, he makes up by a great profuſion of promiſes; but this perfection, ſo neceſſary in courts, is not very ſucceſsful in camps

among ſoldiers, who are not refined enough to underſtand or to reliſh it.

His wife, the ducheſs, may juſtly challenge her place in this liſt; it is to her the duke is chiefly indebted for his greatneſs and his fall. For above twenty years ſhe poſſeſſed, without a rival, the favours of the moſt indulgent miſtreſs in the world; nor ever miſſed one ſingle opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage: ſhe hath preſerved a tolerable court-reputation, with reſpect to love and gallantry; but three furies reigned in her breaſt, the moſt mortal enemies of all ſofter paſſions, which were ſordid avarice, diſdainful pride, and ungovernable rage. By the laſt of theſe often breaking out in ſallies of the moſt unpardonable ſort, ſhe had long alienated her ſovereign's mind before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without ſome degree of wit, and hath, in her time, affected the character of it by the uſual method of arguing againſt religion, and proving the doctrine of Chriſtianity to be impoſſible and abſurd. Imagine what ſuch a ſpirit, irritated by the loſs of power, favour, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting! and then I have ſaid enough.

The next in order, to be mentioned, is the earl

of Godolphen. It is ſaid he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court, which ſome very unjuſtly have objected as a reproach. He hath riſen gradually in four reigns, and was more conſtant to his ſecond maſter king James, than ſome others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated king to the ſeaſide, and kept conſtant correſpondence with him, till the day of his death. He always profeſſed a ſort of a paſſion for the queen at St. Germains, and his letters were to her in a ſtile of what the French call Double entendre, in a mixture of love and reſpect He uſed frequently to ſend her, from hence, little preſents of thoſe things which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always aſked king William's leave, as if without her privity; becauſe, if ſhe had known that circumſtance, it was to be ſuppoſed ſhe would not accept them. Phyſiognomiſts would hardly diſcover, by conſulting the aſpect of this lord, that his predominant paſſions were love and play. That he could ſome times ſcratch out a ſong in praiſe of his miſtreſs with a pencil and a card, or that he hath tears at command, like a woman, to be uſed either in an intrigue of gallantry or politics. His alliance with the Marlborough family, and his

paſſion for the ducheſs, were the cords which dragged him into the party whoſe principles he naturally diſliked, and whoſe leaders he perſonally hated, as they did him: he became a thorough convert by a perfect trifle, taking pet at a nickname * delivered by Dr. Sacheveral, with great indiſcretion, from the pulpit, which he applied to himſelf. And this is one among many inſtances given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The earl of Sunderland is another of that alliance. It ſeems to have been this gentleman's fortune to have learned divinity from his * * * *, and his politics from his tutor †. It may be thought a blemiſh in his character, that he hath much fallen from his republican principles with which he began; for, in his father's life-time, while he was a member of the houſe of commons, he would often, among his familiar friends, refuſe the title of lord (as he hath done to myſelf;) ſwear that he would never be called otherwiſe than Charles Spencer, and hoped to ſee the day when there ſhould not be a peer in England. His underſtanding, at the beſt, is of the middle ſize, neither hath he much improved it either in reality,

* Volpone. † Dr. Trimmel.

or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his ſovereign from the lady he is allied to, or whether it be the reſult of his own nature; the ſenſe of the injuries he hath done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards thoſe to whom he hath given the greateſt cauſe to complain; for which reaſon he will never forgive either the queen, or the preſent treaſurer.

The earl of Wharton hath filled the province allotted him by his collegues, with ſufficiency equal to the ableſt of them all. He hath imbibed his father's * principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its ſtead; excepting that circumſtance, he is a firm preſbyterian: he is perfectly ſkilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleaſure for making converts of young men of quality upon their firſt appearance; in which public ſervice he contracted ſuch large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere juſtice, to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to ſet himſelf right; although the graver

* The earl his father was a rigid preſbyterian.

heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be aſhamed of him; for beſides his talents abovementioned, he is very uſeful in parliament, being a ready ſpeaker, and content to employ his gift on ſuch occaſions, where thoſe, who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modeſty, are aſhamed to appear. In ſhort, he is an inconteſtable inſtance to diſcover the true nature of faction, ſince being over-run with every quality, which produceth contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he hath notwithſtanding been able to make ſo conſiderable a figure.

The lord Cowper, although his merits are later than the reſt, deſerveth a rank in this great council. He was conſiderable in the ſtation of a practiſing lawyer; but as he was raiſed to be a chancellor and a peer, without paſſing through any of the intermediate ſteps, which in late times hath been the conſtant practice; and little ſkilled in the nature of government, or the true intereſt of princes further than the municipal or common law of England, his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some improper paſſages of his life were thought to diſqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conſcience; but

theſe difficulties were eaſily over-ruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a perſon would be ſubſervient to all their deſigns, wherein they were not diſappointed: as to his other accompliſhments, he was what we uſually call a piece of a ſcholar, and a good logical reaſoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which makes him apt to deceive the unwary, and ſometimes to deceive himſelf.

The laſt to be ſpoken of in this liſt is the earl of Nottingham, a convert and acquiſition to that party ſince their fall, to which he contributed his aſſiſtance, I mean, his words and probably his wiſhes; for he had always lived under the conſtant viſible profeſſion of principles directly oppoſite to thoſe of his new friends. His vehement and frequent ſpeeches againſt admitting the prince of Orange to the throne are yet to be ſeen; and although a numerous family gave a ſpecious pretence to his love of power and money for taking an employment under that monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a reſerve of allegiance to his exiled maſter, of which his friends produce ſeveral inſtances, and ſome while he was ſecretary of ſtate to king William. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and

ſeeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, ſo they are the excuſe of that ſtiffneſs and formality with which his nature is fraught: His aduſt complexion diſpoſeth him to rigour and ſeverity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a ſincerer countenance, or more truly repreſenting his mind and manners: he hath ſome knowlege in the law, very amply ſufficient to defend his property at leaſt; a faculty of utterance, deſcended to him from his father, and improved by a few ſprinklings of literature, hath brought himſelf and ſome few admirers into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother G————y, but chiefly in thoſe talents which he moſt values and pretends to, over whom nevertheleſs he preſerveth an aſcendant: his great ambition was to be the head of thoſe, who were called the church party; and indeed his grave ſolemn deportment and countenance, ſeconded by abundance of profeſſions for their ſervice, had given them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their ſenſe of his judgment and wiſdom; and this miſtake laſted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cauſe; but then it plainly appeared, that he had no credit to bring over one ſingle proſelyte to keep himſelf in countenance.

Theſe lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imaginations to conceive what ſort of perſons thoſe were, who had the boldneſs to encounter the queen and miniſtry, at the head of a great majority of the landed intereſt; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her majeſty's reign, the ſecurity, or, at leaſt, the freedom of her perſon, the lives of her moſt faithful friends, and the ſettling of the nation by a peace, were in the conſequences deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addreſſes had been procured from both houſes to the queen, repreſenting their opinion, that no peace could be ſecure with Britain, while Spain, or the Weſt Indies, remained in the poſſeſſion of the Bourbon family: but her majeſty having, for reaſons, which have been often told to the world, and which will not be ſoon forgotten, called a new parliament, and choſe a new ſet of ſervants, began to view things and perſons in another light; ſhe conſidered the neceſſities of her people, the diſtant proſpect of a peace upon ſuch an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or underſtood in the grand alliance, the unequal burden ſhe bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of ſome whom ſhe

moſt truſted, or perhaps by the practices of theſe upon the allies, and laſtly, by the changes which death had brought about in the Auſtrian and Bourbon families; upon all which motives ſhe was prevailed upon to receive ſome overtures from France in behalf of herſelf and the whole confederacy. The ſeveral ſteps of this negociation, from its firſt riſe to the time I am now writing, ſhall be related in another part of this hiſtory: let it ſuffice for the preſent to ſay, that ſuch propoſals were received from France as were thought ſufficient, by our court, whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty: and ſoon after the opening of the ſeſſion, the biſhop of Briſtol *, lord privy ſeal, was diſpatched to Utrecht, where he and the earl of Strafford were appointed plenipotentiaries for the queen of Great Britain.

The managers of the diſcontented party, who during the whole ſummer had obſerved the motions of the court running faſt towards a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppoſe her majeſty's deſigns when the parliament ſhould meet; their only ſtrength was in the houſe of lords, where the queen had a very crazy majority, made up by thoſe whoſe hearts were in the

* Dr. Robinſon, afterwards biſhop of London.

other intereſt, but whoſe fears, expectations, or immediate dependance, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two lords upon whoſe abilities and influence, of a very different nature, the managers built their ſtrongeſt hopes. The firſt was the duke of Somerſet, maſter of the horſe: this duke, as well as his ducheſs, were in a good degree of favour with the queen, upon the ſcore of ſome civilities and reſpects her majeſty had received from them while ſhe was princeſs; for ſome years after the Revolution he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late earl of Rocheſter who firſt preſented him to king William. However, ſince the time he came into employment, which was towards the cloſe of the laſt reign, he hath been a conſtant zealous member of the other party, but never failed either in attendance or reſpect towards the queen's perſon, or at moſt only threatened ſometimes, that he would ſerve no longer while ſuch and ſuch men were employed, which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all againſt duty or good behaviour: he had been much careſſed and flattered by the lords of the Juncto *, who ſometimes went ſo far, as to give him hopes of the

* A cant given to five lords of that party.

crown in reverſion to his family upon failure of the houſe of Hanover; all this worked ſo far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned, for they ſoon grew weary of his indigeſted ſchemes and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradict him with little ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature was not able to brook: thus a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole aſſembly of party leaders; ſo that upon the queen's firſt intentions of changing her miniſtry, ſoon after the trial of Dr. Sacheveral, he appointed ſeveral meetings with Mr. Harley alone, in the moſt private manner, in places and times leaſt liable to ſuſpicion. He employed all his credit with the queen to drive on the removal of lord Godolphin and the reſt; and in the council treated the ſmall remainder, who continued ſometime longer in their places, with all poſſible marks of hatred or diſdain; but when the queſtion came for diſſolving the parliament, he ſtopped ſhort. He had already ſatiated his reſentments, which were not againſt things, but perſons; he furiouſly oppoſed that council, and promiſed to undertake for the parliament himſelf: when the queen had

declared her pleaſure for the diſſolution, he fled off in a greater rage than ever, oppoſed the court in all elections where he had influence or power, and made very humble advances to reconcile himſelf with the diſcarded lords, eſpecially the earl of Godolphen, who is reported to have treated him at New-market in a contemptuous manner; but the ſincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifeſtly in the firſt ſeſſion of the new parliament, and the uſe he might be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his ducheſs, with the queen, at length begat a reconcilement: he ſtill kept his employment and place in the cabinet council, but had never appeared there from an avowed diſlike of all perſons and proceedings: it happened about the end of ſummer 1711, at Windſor, when the cabinet council was ſummoned, this duke, whether by directions from his teachers, or the inſtability of his nature, took a fancy to reſume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly; upon which Mr. Secretary St. John refuſed to aſſiſt, and gave his reaſons, that he would never ſit in council with a man who had ſo often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction which endeavoured to obſtruct all her majeſty's meaſures. Thus the council was put off to the next day, and the

duke made no farther attempts to be there; but upon this incident he declared open war againſt the miniſtry, and, from that time to the ſeſſion, employed himſelf in ſpiriting up ſeveral depending lords to adhere to their friends when an occaſion ſhould offer. The arguments he made uſe of were, that thoſe in power deſigned to make an ignominious and unſecure peace, without conſulting the allies; that this could be no otherwiſe prevented than by an addreſs from the lords to ſignify their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or ſecure, while Spain or the Weſt Indies remained in any of the Bourbon family, upon which ſeveral farther reſolutions and enquiries would naturally follow; that the differences between the two houſes upon this muſt either be made up by the commons agreeing with the lords, or muſt end in a diſſolution, which would be followed by a return of the old miniſtry, who, by the force of money and management, could eaſily get another parliament to their wiſhes: he farther aſſured them boldly, that the queen herſelf was at the bottom of this deſign, and had empowered him to deſire their votes againſt the peace, as a point that would be for her ſervice, and therefore they need not be in pain upon account of their penſions, or any farther marks

of favour they expected. Thus by reviving the old art of uſing her majeſty's authority againſt her perſon, he prevailed over ſome who were not otherwiſe in a ſtation of life to oppoſe the crown, and his proſelytes may pretend to ſome ſhare of pity, ſince he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour after all he had done to deſerve the loſs of both.

The other lord, in whom the diſcontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the earl of Nottingham, already mentioned, than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleaſed at their fall, partly from his avowed principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had in ſharing their ſpoils; but it fell out that he was no way acceptable to the queen, or her new ſervants: theſe apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the public buſineſs, from his reſtleſs, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was ſuffered to have any part in affairs; and he ſtood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the houſe of lords, and in her majeſty's preſence, that the electoral prince of Hanover might be invited to reſide in England, although he had before declared to the queen, how much he was againſt that propoſal when it was firſt offered by the other party. How-

ever, ſome very conſiderable employments had been given to his neareſt relations, and he had one or two offers for himſelf, which he thought fit to refuſe, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the earl of Rocheſter's deceaſe he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for the preſident of the council, and deeply reſented that diſappointment; but the duke of Newcaſtle, lord privy ſeal, dying ſome time after, he found that office was firſt deſigned for the earl of Jerſey, and by his ſudden death was actually diſpoſed of to the biſhop of Briſtol; by which he plainly ſaw that the queen was determined againſt giving him an opportunity of directing in affairs, or diſplaying his eloquence in the cabinet council. He had now ſhaken off all remains of patience or temper, and from the contemplations of his own diſappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the public management, and to aſſure his neighbours in the country, that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined. The diſcontented lords were ſoon apprized of this great change, and the duke of Roxburgh, the earl's ſon in-law, was diſpatched down to Burleigh on the Hill, to cultivate his preſent diſpoſitions, and offer him whatever terms he pleaſed to inſiſt on. The earl im-

mediately agreed to fall in with any meaſures for diſtreſſing or deſtroying the miniſtry: but in order to preſerve his reputation with the church-party, and perhaps bring them over to his intereſts, he propoſed that a bill ſhould be brought into the houſe of lords, for preventing occaſional conformity, and be unanimouſly agreed to by all the peers of the low-church principles, which would convince the world of their good intentions to the eſtabliſhed religion, and that their oppoſitions to the court wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and ſafety. Theſe preparations were public enough, and the miniſters had ſufficient time to arm themſerves; but they ſeem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who truſted to the goodneſs of their cauſe, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to thoſe arts which our corruptions have too often made neceſſary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed that there would be a majority of ten upon the ſide of the court. I remember to have told my lord Harcourt and Mr. Prior, that a majotity of ten was only a majority of five; becauſe, if their adverſaries could bring off five, the number would be equal; and ſo it happened to prove, for the miſtake lay in

counting upon the bare promiſes of thoſe who were wholly in the intereſt of the old miniſtry, and were only kept in awe by the fear of offending the crown, and loſing their ſubſiſtence, wherein the duke of Somerſet had given them full ſatisfaction. With theſe diſpoſitions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the ſeventh of December, 1711. The queen's ſpeech (excepting what related to ſupplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both houſes what progreſs ſhe had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a ſpeedy concluſion. As ſoon as her majeſty was withdrawn, the houſe of lords, in a committee, reſolved upon an addreſs of thanks, to which the earl of Nottingham propoſed an addition of the following clauſe; '—— and we do beg leave to 'repreſent it to your majeſty, as the humble o-'pinion and advice of this houſe, that no peace 'can be ſafe or honourable to Great Britain or 'Europe, if Spain and the Weſt Indies are to 'be allotted to any branch of the houſe of Bour-'bon.'

He was ſeconded by the earl of Scarborough; and, after a debate of ſeveral hours, the queſtion for the clauſe was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day the houſe

agreed with the committee, the depending lords having taken freſh courage from their principals, and ſome who profeſſed themſelves very humble ſervants to the preſent miniſtry, and enemies to the former, went along with the ſtream, pretending not to ſee the conſequences that muſt viſibly follow. The addreſs was preſented on the eleventh, to which her majeſty's anſwer was very ſhort and dry: ſhe diſtinguiſhed their thanks from the reſt of the piece; and in return to lord Nottingham's clauſe, ſaid, She ſhould be ſorry that any body could think ſhe would not do her utmoſt endeavours to recover Spain and the Weſt Indies from the houſe of Bourbon.

Upon the fifteenth of December the earl of Nottingham likewiſe brought in the bill to prevent occaſional conformity (although under a diſguiſed title) which met with no oppoſition, but was ſwallowed by thoſe very lords who always appeared with the utmoſt violence againſt the leaſt advantage to the eſtabliſhed church. But in the houſe of commons there appeared a different ſpirit; for when one Mr. Robert Walpole offered a clauſe of the ſame nature with that of the earl of Nottingham, it was rejected with contempt, by a very great majority. Their addreſs was in the moſt dutiful manner, approving what her maje-

ſty had done towards a peace, and truſting intirely to her wiſdom in the future management of it. This addreſs was preſented to the queen a day before that of the lords, and received an anſwer diſtinguiſhedly gracious: but the other party was no way diſcouraged by either anſwer, which they looked upon as only matter of courſe, and the ſenſe of the miniſtry, contrary to that of the queen.

The parliament ſat as long as the approaching feſtival would allow, and upon the twenty ſecond, the land tax and occaſional bills having received the royal aſſent, the houſe of commons adjourned to the fourteenth of January following; but the adjournment of the lords was only to the ſecond, the prevailing party there being in haſte to purſue the conſequences of the earl of Nottingham's clauſe, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treaſurer, and overthrow the miniſtry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be diſturbed by the commons.

When this addreſs againſt any peace without Spain, *etc.* was carried in the houſe of lords, it is not eaſy to deſcribe the effects it had upon moſt men's paſſions: the partizans of the old miniſtry triumphed loudly, and without any reſerve, as

if the game were their own. The earl of Wharton was obſerved in the houſe to ſmile, and put his hands to his neck, when any of the miniſtry was ſpeaking, by which he would have it underſtood that ſome heads were in danger. Parker the chief juſtice began already with great zeal and officiouſneſs to proſecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the adminiſtration. In ſhort, joy and vengeance ſat viſible in every countenance of that party.

On the other ſide, all well-wiſhers to the queen, the church, or the peace, were equally dejected; and the treaſurer ſtood the foremoſt mark both of his enemies fury, and the cenſure of his friends. Among the latter, ſome imputed this fatal miſcarriage to his procraſtinating nature: others, to his unmeaſurable public thrift. Both parties agreed, that a firſt miniſter, with very moderate ſkill in affairs, might eaſily have governed the event: and ſome began to doubt whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other ſtations, were what he juſtly deſerved. All this he knew well enough, and heard it with phlegm, neither did it make any alterations in his countenance or humour: he told Monſ. Buys the Dutch envoy, two days before the parliament ſat, that he was ſorry for what was like to paſs, becauſe the

States would be the firſt ſufferers, which he deſired the envoy to remember: and to his neareſt friends, who appeared in pain about the public or themſelves, he only ſaid, that all would be well, and deſired them not to be frighted.

It was, I conceive, upon theſe motives, that the treaſurer adviſed her majeſty to create twelve new lords, and thereby diſable the ſting of faction for the reſt of her life. This promotion was ſo ordered, that a third part was of thoſe on whom, or their poſterity, the peerage would naturally devolve, and the reſt were ſuch, whoſe merit, birth, and fortune could admit of no exception.

The adverſe party being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did, that it was a pernicious example, ſet for ill princes to follow, who, by the ſame rule, might make at any time an hundred as well as twelve, and by theſe means become maſters of the houſe of lords whenever they pleaſed, which would be dangerous to our liberties. To this it was anſwered, that ill princes ſeldom trouble themſelves to look for precedents; that men of great eſtates will not be leſs fond of preſerving their liberties when they are created peers; that in ſuch a government as this, where the prince holds the balance between two great powers, the

nobility and people, it is of the very nature of his office to remove from one ſcale in the other, or ſometimes put his own weight into the lighteſt, ſo to bring both into an equilibrium; and laſtly, that the other party had been above twenty years corrupting the nobility with republican principles, which nothing but the royal prerogative could hinder from overſpreading us.

The conformity bill above-mentioned, was prepared by the earl of Nottingham before the parliament met, and brought in at the ſame time with the clauſe againſt peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends. This he hoped would not only ſave his credit with the church party, but bring them over to his politics ſince, they muſt needs be convinced, that inſtead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greateſt enemies to the eſtabliſhed religion, to be the firſt movers in a law for the perpetual ſettlement of it. Here it was worth the obſerving, with what reſignation the junto lords (as they were then called) are ſubmitted to by their adherents and followers; for it is well known, that the chief among the diſſenting teachers in town were conſulted upon this affair, and ſuch arguments uſed, as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of

greater advantage to their cauſe, than the paſſing this bill. I did indeed ſee a letter at that time from one of them, to a great man *, complaining that they were betrayed and undone by their pretended friends; but they were in general very well ſatisfied, upon promiſes that this law ſhould ſoon be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted as ſoon as their friends ſhould be reſtabliſhed. But nothing ſeemed more extraordinary than the event of this refined management, by which the earl of Nottingham was ſo far from bringing over proſelytes (wherein his abilities fell very ſhort even of the duke of Somerſet's) or preſerving the reputation of a firm churchman, that very few people did ſo much as imagine he had any ſuch deſign, only when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was ſome wonderful deep reach of politics, which they could not comprehend. However they liked the thing, and without troubling themſelves about the perſons, or motives from whence it roſe, it had a very ſpeedy paſſage through both houſes.

It muſt be confeſſed, that ſome attempt of this nature was much more neceſſary to the leaders of that party, than is generally thought: the deſire of power and revenge was common to them

* It was to the treaſurer himſelf.

all; but ſeveral of them were alſo conſcious that they ſtood in need of protection, whoſe ſafety was therefore concerned in the deſign of ruining the miniſtry, as well as their ambition. The duke of Marlborough foreſaw thoſe examinations which were afterwards made into ſome parts of his management, and was apprehenſive of a great deal more; that the parliament would, perhaps, enquire into the particulars of the negotiation at the Hague in 1709; for what ends, and by whoſe advice, the propoſitions of peace from France were rejected; beſides, he dreaded, leſt that myſterious policy might be laid open to the world, of deſiring the queen to conſtitute him general for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of too much proof. It is true, indeed, that whilſt the duke's affair was under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, one of his creatures * (whether by direction or otherwiſe) aſſured the ſpeaker, with a very ſerious countenance, that the world was miſtaken in cenſuring his lord upon this article, for it was the queen who preſſed the duke to accept that commiſſion, and upon his humble refuſal, conceived her firſt diſpleaſure againſt him. How ſuch a defence would have paſſed, if it had been offered in form, is eaſier to

* Craggs, father to the ſecretary.

be conceived, than how any perſon in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which laſt would, indeed, be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The earl of Godolphen wanted protection, notwithſtanding the act of general pardon, which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own ſecurity: he knew that his long neglect of compelling the accountants to paſs their accompts, might be puniſhed as a breach of truſt: he had run the kingdom into immenſe debts by taking up ſtores for the navy, upon a vaſt diſcount, without parliamentary ſecurity, for which he could be able to plead neither law nor neceſſity, and he had given way at leaſt to ſome proceedings, not very juſtifiable, in relation to remittances of money, whereby the public had ſuffered conſiderable loſſes The barrier treaty ſat heavy upon the lord Townſend's ſpirits; becauſe, if it ſhould be laid before the houſe of commons, whoever negociated that affair, might be ſubject to the moſt ſevere animadverſion: and the earl of Wharton's adminiſtration in Ireland was looked upon as a ſufficient ground to impeach him at leaſt for high crimes and miſdemeanours.

The managers in Holland were ſufficiently ap-

prized of all this, and Monſ. Buys, their miniſter here, took care to cultivate that good correſpondence between his maſters and their Engliſh friends, which becomes two confederates purſuing the ſame end. This man had been formerly employed to England from that republic, and underſtood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been ſuch, as to furniſh now and then a Latin quotation, of which he is as liberal as his ſtock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of ſtate for the reſt of the world. His reaſonings upon politics are with great profuſion at all meetings, and he leaves the company with entire ſatisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior ſort of cunning, which is the growth of his country, of a ſtandard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them, from the boor to the burgomaſter. He came into England with inſtructions, authorizing him to accommodate all differences between her Majeſty and the States; but having once adviſed with the confederate lords, he aſſured the miniſtry he had powers to hear their propoſals, but none to conclude; and having repreſented to his maſters

what had been told him by the adverſe party, he prevailed with them to revoke his powers. He found the intereſt of thoſe, who withſtood the court, would exactly fall in with the deſigns of the States, which were, to carry on the war as long as they could at their own expence, and to ſee themſelves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were diſpoſed to apply to France, or to receive overtures from thence. The emperor, upon many powerful reaſons, was utterly averſe from all councils, which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of Spain: nay, the elector of Hanover himſelf, although preſumptive heir to the crown of England, and obliged, by all ſorts of ties, to cultivate her majeſty's friendſhip, was ſo far deceived by miſrepreſentations from hence, that he ſeemed to ſuffer Monſ. Bothmar, his envoy here, to print and publiſh a memorial here in Engliſh, directly diſapproving all her majeſty's proceedings; which memorial, as appeareth by the ſtile and manner of it, was all drawn up, or at leaſt digeſted, by ſome party-pen on this ſide of the water. Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preſerve the reſpect even due to foreign princes, do uſually charge the wrong ſteps in a court altogether up-

on the perſons employed; but I ſhould have taken a ſecurer method, and have been wholly ſilent in this point, if I had not then conceived ſome hope, that his electoral highneſs might poſſibly have been a ſtranger to the memorial of his reſident: For, firſt, the manner of delivering it to the ſecretary of ſtate was out of all form, and almoſt as extraordinary as the thing itſelf. Monſ. Bothmar, having obtained an hour of Mr. Secretary St. John, talked much to him upon the ſubject of which that memorial conſiſts, and upon going away, deſired he might leave a paper with the ſecretary, which he ſaid contained the ſubſtance of what he had been diſcourſing. This paper Mr. St. John laid aſide among others of little conſequence, and a few days after ſaw a memorial in print, which he found, upon comparing, to be the ſame with what Bothmar had left.

During this ſhort receſs of parliament, and upon the fifth day of January, prince Eugene of Savoy landed in England. Before he left his ſhip, he aſked a perſon who came to meet him, whether the Nero lords were made, and what was their number? He was attended through the ſtreets with a mighty rabble of people to St James's, where Mr. Secretary St. John introduced him to the queen, who received him with great civility.

His arrival had been long expected, and the proſpect of his journey had as long been formed by the party-leaders here, in concert with Monſ. Buys and Monſ. Bothmar, the Dutch and Hanover envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the emperor, with offers to continue the war upon a new foot, very advantageous to Britain, part of which, by her majeſty's commands, Mr. St. John ſoon after produced to the houſe of commons, where they were rejected, not without ſome indignation, by a great majority. The emperor's propoſals, as far as related to Spain, were communicated to the houſe in the words following:

"His imperial majeſty judges that forty thou-
"ſand men will be ſufficient for this ſervice, and
"that the whole expence of the war in Spain may
"amount to four millions of crowns, towards
"which his imperial majeſty offers to make up the
"troops, which he has in that country, to thirty
"thouſand men, and to take one million of
"crowns upon himſelf"

On the other ſide, the houſe of commons voted a third part of theſe four millions as a ſufficient quota for her majeſty toward that ſervice: for it is ſuppoſed, the emperor ought to bear the greateſt proportion in a point that ſo nearly con-

cerned him; or, at leaſt, that Britain contributing one third, the other two might be paid by his imperial majeſty and the ſtates, as they could ſettle it between them.

The deſign of prince Eugene's journey was to raiſe a ſpirit in parliament and people for continuing the war: for nothing was thought impoſſible to a prince of ſuch high reputation in arms, in great favour with the emperor; and empowered to make ſuch propoſals from his maſter, as the miniſtry durſt not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from count Gallas (formerly the emperor's envoy here) that the prince was wholly left to his liberty of making what offers he pleaſed in the emperor's name; for, if the parliament could once be brought to raiſe funds, and the war go on, the miniſters here muſt be under a neceſſity of applying and expending thoſe funds, and the emperor could afterwards find twenty reaſons and excuſes, as he had hitheto done, for not furniſhing his quota. Therefore prince Eugene for ſome time kept himſelf within generals, until being preſſed to explain himſelf upon that particular of the war in Spain, which the houſe of Auſtria pretended to have moſt at heart, he made that offer abovementioned, as a moſt extraordinary effort; and ſo it was, conſidering how

little they had ever done before towards the recovering that monarchy to themſelves. But ſhameful as theſe propoſals were, few believed the emperor would obſerve them, or indeed that he ever intended to ſpare ſo many men as would make up an army of thirty thouſand men, to be employed in Spain.

Prince Eugene's viſit to his friends in England continued longer that was expected; he was every day entertained magnificently by perſons of quality of both parties; he went frequently to the treaſurer, and ſometimes affected to do it in private; he viſited the other miniſters and great officers of the court, but on all occaſions publicly owned the character and appellation of a whig, and in ſecret had continual meetings with the duke of Marlborough, and the other diſcontented lords, where M. Bothmar uſually aſſiſted. It is the great ambition of this prince to be perpetually engaged in war, without conſidering the cauſe or conſequence, and to ſee himſelf at the head of an army, where only he can make any conſiderable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, ſometimes charged upon the Italians, and being nurſed in arms, hath ſo far extinguiſhed pity and remorſe, that he will at any time ſacrifice a thouſand mens lives to a caprice of

of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treaſurer, as the perſon who principally oppoſed this inſatiable paſſion of war; ſaid, he had hopes of others, but that the treaſurer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved; therefore, ſince it was impoſſible for him or his friends to compaſs their deſigns, while that miniſter continued at the head of affairs, he propoſed an expedient, often practiſed by thoſe of his country, that the treaſurer (to uſe his own expreſſion) ſhould be taken off *a la negligence*; that this might eaſily be done, and paſs for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging ſome proper people to commit ſmall riots in the night: and in ſeveral parts of the town, a crew of obſcure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commiſſion, and mixing themſelves with theſe diſorderly people, that often infeſt the ſtreets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many perſons, whom they cut and mangled in the faces and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation: but an effectual ſtop was ſoon put to thoſe enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main deſign.

I am very ſenſible, that ſuch an imputation ought not to be charged upon any perſon what-

ſoever, upon ſlight grounds or doubtleſs ſurmiſes, and that thoſe who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this paſſage to be better for a libel than a hiſtory: but as the account was given by more than one perſon, who was at the meeting, ſo it was confirmed, paſt all contradiction, by ſeveral intercepted letters and papers: and it is moſt certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent diſappointments, was ſo far inflamed, as to make them capable of ſome counſels yet more violent and deſperate than this, which, however, by the vigilance of thoſe near the perſon of her majeſty, were happily prevented.

On the thirtieth of December, 1711, the duke of Marlborough was removed from all his employments, the duke of Ormond ſucceeding him as general both here and in Flanders. The proceeding of the court (as far as it relates to the duke of Marlborough) was much cenſured, both at home and abroad, and by ſome who did not wiſh ill to the preſent ſituation of affairs: there were few examples of a commander being diſgraced, after an uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs for many years againſt a formidable enemy, and this before a period was put to the war. Thoſe, who had leaſt eſteem for his valour and conduct, thought

it not prudent to remove a general, whoſe troops were perpetually victorious, while he was at their head; becauſe this had infuſed into his ſoldiers an opinion, that they ſhould always conquer, and into the enemy, that they ſhould always be beaten, than which nothing is held to be of greater moment, either in the progreſs of a war, or upon the day of battle: and I have good grounds to affirm, that theſe reaſons had ſufficient weight with the queen and miniſtry to keep the duke of Marlborough in his poſt, if a way could have been found out to have done it with any aſſurance of ſafety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their diſpleaſure make uſually much more noiſe than the cauſes: thus the ſound of the duke's fall was heard farther than many of the reaſons which made it neceſſary, whereof, though ſome were viſible enough, yet others lay more in the dark.

Upon the duke's laſt return from Flanders, he had fixed his arrival to town (whether by accident or otherwiſe) upon the ſeventeenth of November, called queen Elizabeth's day, when great numbers of his creatures and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the pope in effigy; for the performance of which, with more ſolemnity, they had

made extraordinary preparations. From the ſeveral circumſtances of the expence in this intended pageantry, and of the perſons who promoted it, the court, apprehenſive of a deſign to inflame the common people, thought fit to order that the ſeveral figures ſhould be ſeized as popiſh trinkets, and guards were ordered to patrol for preventing any tumultuous aſſemblies. Whether this frolic was only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I muſt leave undetermined. The duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular, and in his flouriſhing times, when he came to England upon the cloſe of a champaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourſe of the mobile, if they had been diſpoſed to attend him; therefore ſo very different a proceeding, at this juncture, made it ſuſpected as if he had a deſign to have placed himſelf at their head. France, popery, the pretender, and no peace with Spain, were the words to be given about at this mock parade; and, if what was confidently aſſerted be true, that a report was to have been ſpread at the ſame time of the queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purpoſes intended, proving wholly abortive, by the vigilance of

thoſe in power, the duke's arrival was without any noiſe or conſequence; and upon conſulting with his friends, he ſoon fell in with their new ſcheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many perſons, that the miniſters might, with little difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleaſed to make a trial; for, as he would probably have accepted any terms to continue in a ſtation of ſuch prodigious profit, ſo there was ſufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is ſeldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity) and this infirmity very much increaſed by his unmeaſurable poſſeſſions, which have rendered him *ipſique onerique timentem.* But reaſon, as well as the event, proved this to be a miſtake, for the miniſters, being determined to bring the war to as ſpeedy an iſſue as the honour and ſafety of their country would permit, could not poſſibly recompenſe the duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it: then the other party had calculated their numbers, and by the acceſſion of the earl of Nottingham, whoſe example they hoped would have many followers, and the ſucceſsful ſolicitations of the duke of Somerſet, found they were ſure of a majority in the houſe of lords; ſo that in this view of circumſtances, the duke of Marlborough thought he

acted with ſecurity as well as advantage. He therefore boldly fell, with his whole might, into the deſign of ruining the miniſtry, at the expence of his duty to his ſovereign, and welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both Whig and tory were now no longer the diſpute, but the queen or the duke of Marlborough: He was at the head of all the cabals and conſults with Bothmar, Buys, and the diſcontented lords: he forgot that government of his paſſion, for which his admirers uſed to celebrate him, and fell into all the impotencies of anger and violence upon every party debate; ſo that the queen found herſelf under a neceſſity either on the one ſide, to ſacrifice thoſe friends who have ventured their lives in reſcuing her out of the power of ſome, whoſe former treatment ſhe had little reaſon to be fond of, to put an end to the progreſs ſhe had made towards a peace, and diſſolve her parliament; or on the other ſide, by removing one perſon from ſo great a truſt, to get clear of all her difficulties at once. Her majeſty therefore determined upon the latter, as the ſhorter and ſafer courſe; and during the receſs at Chriſtmaſs, ſent the duke a letter, to tell him ſhe had no farther occaſion for his ſervice.

There hath not, perhaps, in the preſent age, been a clearer inſtance to ſhew the inſtability of all greatneſs, which is not founded upon virtue, and it may be an inſtruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular perſon, although ſupported by exorbitant wealth, can, by a little reſolution, be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous conſequences. This lord, who was, beyond compariſon, the greateſt ſubject in Chriſtendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a ſudden, and except a few friends or followers by inclination, the reſt dropped off in courſe: from directing, in ſome manner, the affairs of Europe, he deſcended to be a member of a faction, and with little diſtinction even there; that virtue of ſubduing his reſentments, for which he was ſo famed when he had little or no occaſion to exert it, having now wholly forſaken him when he ſtood moſt in need of its aſſiſtance, and, upon trial, was found unable to bear a reverſe of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and diſcontent.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK II.

THE houſe of lords met upon the ſecond day of January, according to their adjournment; but before they could proceed to buſineſs, the twelve new created peers were, in the uſual form, admitted to their ſeats in that aſſembly, who, by their number, turned the balance on the ſide of the court, and voted an adjournment to the ſame day with the commons. Upon the fourteenth day of January, the two houſes met; but the queen, who intended to be there in perſon, ſent a meſſage to inform them, "that "ſhe was prevented by a ſudden turn of the

" gout, and to desire they would adjourn for " three days longer, when her majesty hoped she " should be able to speak to them." However, her indisposition still continuing, Mr. Secretary St. John brought another message to the house of commons from the queen, containing the substance of what she intended to have spoken, *viz.* " That she could now tell them, her plenipo- " tentiaries were arrived at Utrecht, and had be- " gun, in pursuance of her instructions, to con- " cert the most proper ways of procuring a just " satisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, " according to their several treaties, and particu- " larly with relation to Spain and the West In- " dies; that she promised to communicate to " them the conditions of peace before the same " should be concluded: that the world would " now see how groundless these reports were, " and without the least colour, that a separate " peace had been treated; that her ministers were " directed to propose, that a day might be fixed " for the finishing, as was done for the com- " mencement, of this treaty; and that in the mean " time all preparations were hastening for an ear- " ly campaign," *etc.*

Her majesty's endeavours towards this great work, having been in such a forwardness, at the

time her meſſage was ſent, I ſhall here, as in the moſt proper place, relate the ſeveral ſteps, by which the intercourſe between the courts of France and Britain was begun and carried on.

The marquiſs de Torcy, ſent by the moſt Chriſtian king to the Hague, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies, in his maſter's name; which our miniſters, as well as thoſe of the States, thought fit to refuſe, and advanced other propoſals in their ſtead; but of ſuch a nature as no prince could digeſt, who did not lie at the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded among other things, that the French king ſhould employ his own troops, in conjunction with thoſe of the allies, to drive his grandſon out of Spain. The propoſers knew very well, that the enemy would never conſent to this, and if it were poſſible they could at firſt have any ſuch hopes, monſieur De Torcy aſſured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for when the Britiſh and Dutch plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands, they deſired that miniſter to aſſiſt them in the ſtile and expreſſion, which he very readily did, and made uſe of the ſtrongeſt words he could find to pleaſe them. He then inſiſted to know their laſt reſolution, whether theſe were

the loweſt terms the allies could accept: and having received a determinate anſwer in the affirmative, he ſpoke to this effect.

" That he thanked them heartily, for giving " him the happieſt day he had ever ſeen in his " life. That in perfect obedience to his maſter " he had made conceſſions, in his own opinion, " highly derogatory to the king's honour and in- " tereſt. That he had not concealed the diffi- " culties of his court, or the diſcontents of his " country, by a long and unſucceſsful war, " which could only juſtify the large offers he " had been impowered to make. That the con- " ditions of peace, now delivered into his hands " by the allies, would raiſe a new ſpirit in the " nation, and remove the greateſt difficulty the " court lay under, by putting it in his maſter's " power to couvince all his ſubjects, how ear- " neſtly his majeſty deſired to eaſe them of their " burden of the war; but that his enemies " would not accept of any terms which could " conſiſt either with their ſafety or his honour." Monſieur De Torcy aſſured the penſioner, in the ſtrongeſt manner, and bid him count upon it, " that the king his maſter would never ſign thoſe " articles "

It ſoon appeared, that the marquiſs De Torcy's

predictions were true; for upon delivering to his master the last resolutions of the allies, that prince took care to publish them all over his kingdom, as an appeal to his subjects against the unreasonableness and unjustness of his enemies; which proceeding effectually answered the utmost he intended by it. For the French nation, extremely zealous for their monarch's glory, made universal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious terms; and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the king their consecrated plate towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom, generally thought to be exhausted wholly of its wealth, yet when driven to a necessity, by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men who influenced their counsels, recovered strength enough to support itself for three following campaigns; and in the last, by the fatal blindness or obstinacy of the Dutch (venturing to act without the assistance of Britain, which they had shamefully abandoned) was an overmatch for the whole confederate army. Those, who in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negociation, do wholly omit the circumstance I have now related, and express the zeal

of the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters for a peace, by informing us how frequently they ſent after monſieur De Torcy, and monſieur Rouille, for a farther conference. But in the mean time, Mr. Horatio Walpole, ſecretary to the queen's plenipotentiaries, was diſpatched over hither, to have theſe abortive articles ſigned and ratified by her majeſty at a venture; which was accordingly done. A piece of management altogether abſurd, and without example, contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to ſhew what great things the miniſtry deſigned to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that France had refuſed to ſign thoſe articles, all was ſolved by recourſe to the old topic of the French perfidiouſneſs: we loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations; they were a nation never to be truſted; the parliament chearfully continued their ſupplies, and the war went on.

The winter following began the ſecond and laſt ſeſſion of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. Sacheveral, and the occaſions thereby given to the people to diſcover and exert their diſpoſitions, very oppoſite to the deſigns of thoſe who were then in power. In the ſummer of 1710, enſued a gradual change of the mi-

niſtry; and in the beginning of that winter the preſent parliament was called.

The king of France, whoſe real intereſts made him ſincerely deſirous of any tolerable peace, found it impoſſible to treat upon equal conditions with either of the two maritime powers engaged againſt him, becauſe of the prevalency of factions in both, who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly againſt the general diſpoſitions of the people, in either, as well as againſt their ſeveral maxims of government; but upon the great turn of affairs and counſels here in England, the new parliament and miniſters acting from other motives and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity might ariſe in reſuming his endeavours towards a peace.

There was at this time in England, a French eccleſiaſtic, called the Abbe Gualtier, who had reſided ſeveral years in London, under the protection of ſome foreign miniſters, in whoſe families he uſed upon occaſion to exerciſe his function of a prieſt. After the battle of Blenheim, this gentleman went down to Nottingham, where ſeveral French priſoners of quality were kept, to whom he rendered thoſe offices of civility ſuitable to perſons in their condition, which, upon their

return to France, they reported to his advantage; among the reſt, the chevalier de Croiſſy told his brother, the marquiſs de Torcy, that when ever the French court would have a mind to make overtures of peace with England, monſieur Gualtier might be very uſefully employed in handing them to the miniſters here. This was no farther thought on at preſent: in the mean time the war went on, and the conferences at the Hague and Gentruidenberg miſcarried by the allies inſiſting upon ſuch demands as they neither expected, nor, perhaps, deſired to be granted.

Some time in July 1710, monſieur Gualtier received a letter from the marquiſs de Torcy, ſignifying, that a report being ſpread of her majeſty's intentions to change her miniſtry, to take Mr. Harley into her counſels, and to diſſolve her parliament; the moſt Chriſtian king thought it might be now a favourable conjuncture to offer new propoſals of a treaty; monſieur Gualtier was therefore directed to apply himſelf, in the marquiſs's name, either to the duke of Shrewſbury, the earl of Jerſey, or Mr. Harley, and inform the French court how ſuch a propoſition would be reliſhed. Gualtier choſe to deliver his meſſage to the ſecond of thoſe, who had been

ambaſſador from the late king to France; but the earl excuſed himſelf from entering into particulars with a ſtranger, and a private perſon, who had no authority for what he ſaid, more than a letter from monſieur de Torcy. Gualtier offered to procure another from that miniſter to the earl himſelf, and did ſo in a month after, but obtained no anſwer till December following, when the queen had made all neceſſary changes, and ſummoned a free parliament to her wiſhes. About the beginning of January, the abbe (after having procured his diſmiſſion from count Gallas, the emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was ſent to Paris to inform monſieur de Torcy, that her majeſty would be willing his maſter ſhould reſume the treaty with Holland, provided the demands of England might previouſly be granted. Gualtier came back, after a ſhort ſtay, with a return to his meſſage, "that the Dutch had uſed "the moſt Chriſtian king and his miniſters, in "ſuch a manner, both at the Hague and Ger-"truidenberg, as made that prince reſolve not "to expoſe himſelf any more to the like treat-"ment; that he therefore choſe to addreſs him-"ſelf to England, and was ready to make what-"ever offers her majeſty could reaſonably expect

" for the advantage of her own kingdoms, and " the ſatisfaction of her allies."

After the meſſage had been duly conſidered by the queen and her miniſters, monſieur Gualtier was diſpatched a ſecond time to France, about the beginning of March 1710, with an anſwer to the following purpoſe: " That ſince France had their " particular reaſons for not beginning again to " treat with Holland, England was willing to re- " move that difficulty, and propoſed it ſhould be " done in this manner; that France ſhould ſend " over hither the propoſitions for a treaty, which " ſhould be tranſmitted by England to Holland, " to be jointly treated on that ſide of the wa- " ter. But it was to be underſtood, that the " ſame propoſition formerly offered to Holland, " was to be made to England, or one not leſs " advantageous to the allies; for, though Eng- " land would enter moſt ſincerely into ſuch a " treaty, and ſhew in the courſe of it the clear- " neſs of her intentions; yet they could not, " with honour, entertain a leſs beneficial propo- " ſal than what was offered to the States." That prince, as well as his miniſter, monſieur de Torcy, either felt or affected ſo much reſentment of the uſage the latter had met at the Hague and Gertruidenberg, that they appeared to be fully

determined againſt making any application to the States, where the ſame perſons continued ſtill in power, of whoſe treatment they ſo heavily complained; they ſeemed to diſtruſt the inclination of that republic towards a peace, but at the ſame timed ſhewed a mighty complaiſance to the Engliſh nation, and a deſire to have her majeſty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the firſt overtures in form, ſent from that kingdom, and ſigned by monſieur de Torcy on the twenty ſecond of April, new ſtile, to the following effect.

" That as it could not be doubted but the " king was in a condition of continuing the war " with honour, ſo it could not be looked on as " a mark of weakneſs in his majeſty to break " the ſilence he had kept ſince the conferences " at Gertruidenberg, and that before the open- " ing of the compaign; he now gives farther " proof of the deſire he always had to procure " the repoſe of Europe: but after what he had " found, by experience, of the ſentiments of " thoſe perſons who how governed the republic " of Holland, and of their induſtry in rendering " all negociations without effect, his majeſty " will, for the public good, offer to the Engliſh " nation thoſe propoſitions, which he thinks fit " to make, for terminating the war, and for ſet-

" tling the tranquillity of Europe upon a ſolid
" foundation. It is with this view, that he of-
" fers to enter into a treaty of peace, founded
" on the following conditions.

" *Firſt*, The Engliſh nation ſhall have real ſe-
" curities for carrying on their trade in Spain,
" the Indies, and ports of the Mediterranean.

" *Secondly*, The king will conſent to form a
" ſufficient barrier in the Low-Countries for the
" ſecurity of the republic of Holland; and this
" barrier ſhall be ſuch as England ſhall agree up-
" on and approve; his majeſty promiſing, at the
" ſame time, an entire liberty and ſecurity to the
" trade of the Dutch.

" *Thirdly*, All reaſonable methods ſhall be
" thought on, with ſincerity and truth, for giv-
" ing ſatisfaction to the allies of England and
" Holland.

" *Fourthly*, Whereas the affairs of the king of
" Spain are in ſo good condition, as to furniſh
" new expedients for putting an end to the diſ-
" putes about that monarchy, and for ſettling it
" to the ſatisfaction of the ſeveral parties con-
" cerned, all ſincere endeavours ſhall be uſed,
" for ſurmounting the difficulties ariſen upon
" this occaſion, and the trade and intereſt of all
" parties, engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be
" ſecured.

" *Fifthly*, The conferences, in order to treat " of a peace upon theſe conditions, ſhall imme- " diately be opened, and the plenipotentiaries, " whom the king ſhall name to aſſiſt thereat, " ſhall treat with thoſe of England, either alone " or in conjunction with thoſe of the allies, as " England ſhall chooſe.

" *Sixthly*, His majeſty propoſes the towns of " Aix la Chapelle or Liege, for the place where " the plenipotentiaries ſhall aſſemble, leaving the " choice likewiſe to England, of either of the " ſaid towns wherein to treat a general peace."

Theſe overtures, although expreſſing much confidence in the miniſtry here, the great deference to the queen, and diſpleaſure againſt the Dutch, were immediately tranſmitted by her majeſty's commands, to her ambaſſador in Holland, with orders that they ſhould be communicated to the penſionary. The abbe Gualtier was deſired to ſignify this proceeding to the marquiſs de Torcy, and at the ſame time to let that miniſter underſtand, that ſome of the above articles ought to be explained. The lord Raby, now earl of Strafford, was directed to tell the penſionary, ' that her majeſty being reſolved, ' in making peace as in making war, to act in ' perfect concert with the Sates, would not loſe

'a moment in tranſmitting to him a paper of this 'importance. That the queen earneſtly deſired 'the ſecret might be kept, among as few as poſ-'ſible; and that ſhe hoped the penſionary would 'adviſe, upon this occaſion, with no perſon 'whatſoever, except ſuch as by the conſtitution 'of that government are unavoidably neceſſary; 'that the terms of the ſeveral propoſitions were, 'indeed, too general, but however they contain-'ed an offer to treat; and that although there 'appeared an air of complaiſance to England, 'through the whole paper, and the contrary to 'Holland, yet this could have no ill conſequence, 'as long as the queen and the States took care 'to underſtand each other, and to act with as 'little reſerve as became two powers ſo nearly al-'lied in intereſt; which rule ſhould, on the part 'of Britain, be inviolable.' It was likewiſe ſig-nified to the penſionary, that the duke of Marlborough had no communication of this af-fair from England, and that it was ſuppoſed he would have none from the Hague. After theſe propoſals had been conſidered in Holland, the ambaſſador was directed to ſend back the opini-on of the Dutch miniſters upon them. The court here was indeed apprehenſive, that the penſio-nary would be alarmed at the whole frame of

monſieur de Torcy's paper, and particularly at thoſe expreſſions, that the Engliſh ſhall have real ſecurities for their trade, *etc.* and that the barrier for the States-general ſhall be ſuch as England ſhall agree upon and approve. It was natural to think, that the fear which the Dutch would conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for Britain, might put them upon trying underhand for themſelves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war: the ambaſſador was therefore cautioned, to be very watchful in diſcovering any workings which might tend that way.

When the lord Raby was firſt ſent to the Hague, the duke of Marlborough and lord Townſend had, for very obvious reaſons, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to involve him in as many difficulties as they could; upon which, and other accounts needleſs to mention, it was thought proper that his grace, then in Flanders, ſhould not be let into the ſecret of this affair.

The French propoſal of Aix or Liege, for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old diſcontent againſt Holland, to ſhew they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The penſionary having conſulted thoſe who

had been formerly employed in the negociations of peace, and enjoined them the utmoſt ſecrecy, to avoid the jealouſy of the foreign miniſters there, deſired the ambaſſador to return her majeſty thanks for the obliging manner of communicating the French overtures, for the confidence ſhe placed in the States, and for her promiſe of making no ſtep towards a peace, but in concert with them; aſſuring her of the like on their part; that although the States endeavoured to hide it from the enemy, they were as weary of the war as we, and very heartily deſirous of a good and laſting peace, as well as ready to join in any method, by which her majeſty ſhould think proper to obtain it; that the States looked upon theſe propoſitions as very dark and general; and they obſerved how the enemy would create jealouſies between the queen, their republic, and the other allies; but they were ſatisfied it would have no effect, and relied entirely on the juſtice and prudence of her majeſty, who they doubted not would make the French explain themſelves, particularly in the ſeveral points of their propoſals, and ſend a plan of the particular conditions whereupon they would make a peace; after which the States would be ready either to join with her majeſty, or to make their objections, and were prepared to bring with

them all the facility imaginable towards promoting ſo good a work.

This is the ſum of the verbal anſwer, made by the penſionary, upon communicating to him the French propoſals; and I have choſen to ſet it down, rather than tranſcribe the other given to the ambaſſador ſome days after, which was more in form, and to the ſame purpoſe, but ſhorter; and, in my opinion, not ſo well diſcovering the true diſpoſition of the Dutch miniſters.

For after the queen had tranſmitted the French overtures to Holland, and the States found her majeſty was bent, in earneſt, upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to caſt about how to get the negociation into their own hands; they knew that whatever power received the firſt propoſals would be wiſe enough to ſtipulate ſomething for themſelves, as they had done in their own caſe, both at the Hague and Gertruidenberg, where they carved as they pleaſed, without any regard to the intereſt of their nearer allies. For this reaſon, while they endeavoured to amuſe the Britiſh court with expoſtulations upon the ſeveral preliminaries ſent from France, monſieur Petecum, a forward meddling agent of Holſtein, who had reſided ſome years in Holland, negociated with Hienſius the grand penſionary, as well as

with Vanderduſſen and Buys, about reſtoring the conferences between France and that republic, broke off in Gertruidenberg; purſuant to which, about the end of May, N. S. 1711, Petecum wrote to the marquiſs de Torcy, with the privity of the penſionary, and probably of the other two: the ſubſtance of his letter was to inform the marquiſs, 'that things might eaſily be diſpoſed, 'ſo as to ſettle a correſpondence between that 'crown and the republic, in order to renew the 'treaty of peace; that this could be done with 'the greater ſecrecy, becauſe monſieur Hienſius, 'by virtue of his oath as penſionary, might keep 'any affair private as long as he thought neceſſa-'ry, and was not obliged to communicate it, 'until he believed things were ripe; and as long 'as he concealed it from his maſters, he was 'not bound to diſcover it, either to the mini-'ſters of the emperor, or thoſe of her Britiſh 'majeſty; that ſince England thought it proper 'for king Charles to continue the whole cam-'paign in Catalonia (though he ſhould be choſen 'emperor) in order to ſupport the war in Spain, 'it was neceſſary for France to treat in the moſt 'ſecret manner with the States, who were not 'now ſo violent, as formerly, againſt having Phi-'lip on the Spaniſh throne, upon certain condi-

'tions for ſecuring their trade, but were jealous 'of England's deſign to fortify ſome trading 'towns in Spain for themſelves; that Hienſius 'extremely deſired to get out of the war, for ſome 'reaſons, which he [Petecum] was not permit-'ted to tell, and that Vanderduſſen and Buys 'were impatient to have the negociations with 'France once more ſet on foot, which, if Monſ. 'de Torcy thought fit to conſent to, Petecum 'engaged that the States would determine to 'ſettle the preliminaries in the mid-way between 'Paris and the Hague, with whatever miniſters 'the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould pleaſe to employ.' But Monſ de Torcy refuſed this overture, and in his anſwer to Monſ. Petecum, aſſigned for the the reaſon, the treatment his maſter's former propoſals had met with at the Hague and Gertruidenberg, from the miniſters of Holland.

Britain and Holland ſeemed pretty well agreed, that thoſe propoſals were too looſe and imperfect to be a foundation for entering upon a general treaty, and Monſ. Gualtier was deſired to ſignify to the French court, that it was expected they ſhould explain themſelves more particularly on the ſeveral articles.

But in the mean time the queen was firmly reſolved, that the intereſts of her own kingdom

ſhould not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the Dutch were principal managers of a negociation with France. Her majeſty had given early and frequent notice to the States, of the general diſpoſition of her people towards a peace, of her own inability to continue the war upon the old foot, under the diſadvantage of unequal quota's, and the univerſal backwardneſs of her allies. She had likewiſe informed them of ſeveral advances made to her on the ſide of France, which ſhe had refuſed to hearken to, till ſhe had conſulted with thoſe her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that ſubject; but the Dutch, who apprehended nothing more than to ſee Britain at the head of a treaty, were backward and ſullen, diſliked all propoſals by the queen's intervention, and ſaid it was a piece of artifice of France, to divide the allies: beſides, they knew the miniſtry was young, and the oppoſite faction had given them aſſurances, that the people of England would never endure a peace with Spain, nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after the reſolutions of one houſe of parliament to the contrary. But in the midſt of this unwillingneſs to receive any overtures from France by the queen's hands, the Dutch miniſters were actually engag-

ed in a correſpondence with that court, where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reaſon of thoſe factions, which themſelves had inflamed, and were readier to commence a negociation upon much eaſier terms than what they ſuppoſed we demanded: for, not to mention the duke of Lorrain's interpoſition in behalf of Holland, which France abſolutely refuſed to accept, the letters, ſent from the Dutch to that court, were ſhewn ſome months after to a Britiſh miniſter there, which gave much weight to Monſ. Torcy's inſinuations, that he knew where to meet with more compliance, if the neceſſity of affairs ſhould force him to it by our refuſal; and the violence of the States againſt our entertaining of that correſpondence, was only becauſe they knew theirs would never be accepted, at leaſt till ours were thrown off.

The queen, ſenſible of all this, reſolved to provided for her own kingdoms; and having therefore prepared ſuch demands for her principal allies, as might be a ground for a general treaty, without pretending to adjuſt their ſeveral intereſts, ſhe reſolved to ſtipulate, in a particular manner, the advantage of Britain: the following particular demands were accordingly drawn up in order to be tranſmitted to France.

'Great Britain will not enter into any negoci-
'ation of peace, otherwiſe than upon theſe con-
'ditions obtained before-hand.

'That the union of the crowns of France and
'Spain ſhall be prevented; that ſatisfaction ſhall
'be given to all the allies, and trade ſettled and
'maintained.

'If France be diſpoſed to treat upon this view,
'it is not to be doubted, that the following pro-
'poſitions will be found reaſonable.

'A barrier ſhall be formed in the Low-countries
'for the States-general, and their trade ſhall be
'ſecured.

'A barrier likewiſe ſhall be formed for the em-
'pire.

'The pretenſions of all the allies, founded
'upon former treaties, ſhall be regulated and
'determined to their general ſatisfaction.

'In order to make a more equal balance of
'power in Italy, the domains and territories,
'which in the beginning of the preſent war be-
'longed to the duke of Savoy, and are not in the
'poſſeſſion of France, ſhall be reſtored to his
'royal highneſs, and ſuch other places in Italy
'ſhall be yielded to him, as will be found neceſ-
'ſary and agreeable to the ſenſe of former trea-
'ties make with that prince.

'As to Great Britain in particular, the ſucceſ-
'ſion to the crown of the kingdoms, according
'to the preſent eſtabliſhment, ſhall be acknow-
'leged.

'A new treaty of commerce between Great
'Britain and France ſhall be made after the moſt
'juſt and reaſonable manner. Dunkirk ſhall be
'demoliſhed, Gibraltar and Portmahon ſhall re-
'main in the hands of the preſent poſſeſſors.

'The Engliſh ſhall have the Aſſiento in the
'ſame manner the French now enjoy it; and
'ſuch places in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies ſhall be
'aſſigned to thoſe concerned in this traffic, for
'the refreſhment and ſale of their negroes, as
'ſhall be found neceſſary and convenient.

'All advantages, rights, and privileges, alrea-
'dy granted, or which may hereafter be granted
'by Spain to the ſubjects of France, or to any
'other nation whatſoever, ſhall be equally grant-
'ed to the ſubjects of Great Britain.

'And for better ſecuring the Britiſh trade in
'the Weſt-Indies, certain places to be named in
'the treaty of peace, ſhall be put in the poſſeſ-
'ſion of the Engliſh.

'Newfoundland, with the bay and ſtreights of
'Hudſon, ſhall be entirely reſtored to the Engliſh;
'and Great Britain and France ſhall ſeverally keep

'and poſſeſs all thoſe countries and territories 'in North America, which each of theſe ſaid 'nations ſhall be in poſſeſſion of at the time 'when the ratification of this treaty ſhall be pu-'bliſhed in thoſe parts of the world.

'Theſe demands, and all other proceedings 'between Great Britain and France, ſhall be 'kept inviolably ſecret, until they are publiſhed 'by the mutual conſent of both parties.'

This laſt article was not only intended for avoiding, if poſſible, the jealouſy of the Dutch, but prevent the clamour of the abettors here at home, who, under the pretended fear of doing injuſtice to the States, by acting without the privity of that republic, in order to make a ſeparate peace, would be ready to drive on the worſt deſigns againſt the queen and miniſtry, in order to recover the power they had loſt.

In June 1711, Mr. Prior, a perſon of great diſtinction, not only on account of his wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the French court, was diſpatched thither by her majeſty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at Verſailles with great civility. The king declared, that no proceeding in order to a

general treaty, would be ſo agreeable to him, as by the intervention of England, and that his majeſty, being deſirous to contribute with all his power towards the repoſe of Europe, did anſwer to the demands which had been made: 'That 'he would conſent freely and ſincerely to all juſt 'and reaſonable methods for hindering the 'crowns of France and Spain from ever being 'united under the ſame prince; his majeſty be-'ing perſuaded that ſuch an exceſs of power 'would be as contrary to the general good and 'repoſe of Europe, as it was oppoſite to the will 'of the late catholic king Charles the Second: 'he ſaid his intention was, that all parties in the 'preſent war ſhould find their reaſonable ſatis-'faction in the intended treaty of peace, and that 'trade ſhould be ſettled and maintained for the 'future, to the advantage of thoſe nations which 'formerly poſſeſſed it.

'That as the king will exactly obſerve the con-'ditions of peace, whenever it ſhall be conclud-'ed, and as the object he propoſeth to himſelf 'is to ſecure the frontiers of his own kingdom, 'without giving any ſort of diſturbance to his 'neighbours, he promiſeth to agree, that by the 'future treaty of peace, the Dutch ſhall be put 'in poſſeſſion of all fortified places as ſhall be

'ſpecified in the ſaid treaty, to ſerve for a bar-
'rier to that republic againſt all attempts on the
'ſide of France; he engages likewiſe to give all
'neceſſary ſecurities for removing the jealouſies
'raiſed among the German princes, of his ma-
'jeſty's deſigns.

'That when the conferences, in order to a ge-
'neral treaty, ſhall be formed, all the pretenſi-
'ons of the ſeveral princes and ſtates, engaged
'in the preſent war, ſhall be fairly and amicably
'diſcuſſed; nor ſhall any thing be omitted, which
'may regulate and determine them to the ſatis-
'faction of all parties.

'That purſuant to the demands made by Eng-
'land, his majeſty promiſes to reſtore to the
'duke of Savoy, thoſe demeſnes and territories
'which belonged to that prince at the beginning
'of this war, and which his majeſty is now in
'poſſeſſion of; and the king conſents farther,
'that ſuch other places in Italy ſhall be yielded
'to the duke of Savoy, as ſhall be found neceſ-
'ſary, according to the ſenſe of thoſe treaties
'made between the ſaid duke and his allies.

'That the king's ſentiments of the preſent
'government of Great Britain, the open decla-
'ration he made in Holland, of his reſolution to
'treat of peace by applications to the Engliſh,

'the aſſurances he had given of engaging the 'king of Spain to leave Gibraltar in our hands '(all which are convincing proofs of his perfect 'eſteem for a nation ſtill in war with him) leave 'no room to doubt of his majeſty's inclination 'to give England all ſecurities and advantages 'for their trade, which they can reaſonably de-'mand: but as his majeſty cannot perſuade him-'ſelf, that a government, ſo clear-ſighted as ours, 'will inſiſt upon conditions which muſt abſolute-'ly deſtroy the trade of France and Spain, as 'well as that of all other nations of Europe, he 'thinks the demands made by Great Britain may 'require a more particular diſcuſſion.

'That upon this foundation the king thought 'the beſt way of advancing and perfecting a ne-'gociation, the beginning of which he had ſeen 'with ſo much ſatisfaction, would be to ſend 'into England a perſon inſtructed in his inten-'tion, and authorized by him to agree upon ſe-'curities for ſettling the trade of the ſubjects of 'England, and thoſe particular advantages to 'be ſtipulated in their favour, without deſtroy-'ing the trade of the French and Spaniards, or 'of other nations in Chriſtendom.

'That therefore his majeſty had charged the 'perſon choſen for this commiſſion, to anſwer

'the other articles of the memorial given him by 'Mr. Prior, the ſecret of which ſhould be exact-'ly obſerved.'

Monſieur de Torcy had, for ſome years paſſed, uſed all his endeavours to incline his maſter towards a peace, purſuant to the maxim of his uncle Colbert, that a long war was not for the intereſt of France. It was for this reaſon, the king made choice of him in the conferences at the Hague, the bad ſucceſs whereof, although it filled him with reſentments againſt the Dutch, did not alter his opinion; but he was violently oppoſed by a party both in the court and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would ſacrifice the glory of the prince and country, by too large conceſſions, or perhaps would rather wiſh, that the firſt offers ſhould have been ſtill made to the Dutch, as a people more likely to be leſs ſolicitous about the intereſt of Britain, than her majeſty would be for theirs; and the particular deſign of Mr. Prior's journey was to find out whether that miniſter had credit enough with his prince, and a ſupport from others in power, ſufficient to over-rule the faction againſt peace.

Mr. Prior's journey could not be kept a ſecret, as the court here at firſt ſeemed to intend it: he was diſcovered at his return, by an officer of the

port at Dover, where he landed after ſix weeks abſence; upon which the Dutch Gazettes and Engliſh News-papers were full of ſpeculations.

At the ſame time with Mr. Prior, there arrived from France, Monſ. Meſnager, knight of the order of St. Michael, and of the council of trade to the moſt Chriſtian king: his commiſſion was, in general, empowering him to treat with the miniſter of any prince engaged in a war againſt his maſter. In his firſt conferences with the queen's miniſters, he pretended orders to inſiſt, that her majeſty ſhould enter into particular engagements in ſeveral articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the intereſt of the allies, reciprocally with thoſe of the moſt Chriſtian king; whereas the negociation had begun upon this principle; that France ſhould conſent to adjuſt the intereſts of Great Britain in the firſt place, whereby her majeſty would be afterwards enabled, by her good offices on all ſides, to facilitate the general peace. The queen reſolved never to depart from this principle, but was abſolutely determined to remit the particular intereſts of the allies to general conferences, where ſhe wonld do the utmoſt in her power to procure the repoſe of Europe, and the ſatisfaction of all parties. It was plain France could run no

hazard by this proceeding, becauſe the preliminary articles would have no force before a general peace was ſigned; therefore it was not doubted, but Monſ. Meſnager would have orders to wave this new pretenſion, and go on in treating upon that foot which was at firſt propoſed. In ſhort, the miniſters required a poſitive and ſpeedy anſwer to the articles in queſtion, ſince they contained only ſuch advantages and ſecurities as her majeſty thought ſhe had a right to require from any prince whatſoever, to whom the dominions of Spain ſhould happen to fall.

The particular demands of Britain were formed into eight articles; to which Monſ. Meſnager, having tranſmitted them to his court and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his maſter's conſent, by way of anſwers to the ſeveral points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. Theſe demands, together with the anſwers of the French king, were drawn up and ſigned by Monſ. Meſnager, and her majeſty's two principal ſecretaries of ſtate; whereof I ſhall here preſent an extract to the reader.

In the preamble, the moſt Chriſtian king ſets forth, 'That being particularly informed, by the 'laſt memorial which the Britiſh miniſters deli-'vered to Monſ. Meſnager, of the diſpoſitions

'of this crown to facilitate a general peace, to 'the ſatisfaction of the ſeveral parties concerned; 'and his majeſty finding in effect, as the ſaid me- 'morial declares, that he runs no hazard by en- 'gaging himſelf in the manner there expreſſed, 'ſince the preliminary articles will be of no force, 'until the ſigning of the general peace; and be- 'ing ſincerely deſirous to advance, to the utmoſt 'of his power, the repoſe of Europe, eſpecially 'by a way ſo agreeable as the interpoſition of a 'princeſs, whom ſo many ties of blood ought to 'unite to him, and whoſe ſentiments for the 'public tranquillity cannot be doubted: his ma- 'jeſty, moved by theſe conſiderations, hath or- 'dered Monſ. Meſnager, knight, *etc.* to give the 'following anſwers in writing, to the articles 'contained in the memorial tranſmitted to him, 'intitled, *Preliminary demands for Great Britain 'in particular.*'

The articles were theſe that follow.

'I. The ſucceſſion to the crown to be acknow- 'leged according to the preſent eſtabliſhment.

'II. A new treaty of commerce between Great 'Britain and France, to be made after the moſt 'juſt and reaſonable manner.

'III. Dunkirk to be demoliſhed.

'IV. Gibraltar and Portmahon to continue in 'the hands of thoſe who now poſſeſs them.

'V. The Aſſiento (or liberty of ſelling negroes 'to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies) to be granted to 'the Engliſh, in as full a manner as the French 'poſſeſs it at preſent; and ſuch places in the ſaid 'Weſt Indies to be aſſigned to the perſons con-'cerned in this trade, for the refreſhment and 'ſale of their negroes, as ſhall be found neceſſa-'ry and convenient.

'VI. Whatever advantages, privileges, and 'rights, are already, or hereafter may be grant-'ed, by Spain to the ſubjects of France, or any 'other nation, ſhall be equally granted to the ſub-'jects of Great Britain.

'VII. For better protecting their trade in the 'Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, the Engliſh ſhall be put 'into poſſeſſion of ſuch places as ſhall be named 'in the treaty of peace.

'Or, as an equivalent for this article, that the 'Aſſiento be granted to Britain for the term of 'thirty years; that the iſle of St. Chriſtopher's 'be likewiſe ſecured to the Engliſh.

'That the advantages and exemption from du-'ties, promiſed by Monſ. Meſnager, which he 'affirms will amount to fifteen per cent, upon all

'goods of the growth and manufacture of 'Great Britain, be effectually allowed.

'That whereas on the ſide of the river of 'Plate, the Engliſh are not in poſſeſſion of any 'colony, a certain extent of territory be allow-'ed them on the ſaid river, for refreſhing and 'keeping their negroes, till they are ſold to the 'Spaniards; ſubject nevertheleſs to the inſpecti-'on of an officer appointed by Spain.

'VIII. Newfoundland, and the bay and 'ſtreights of Hudſon, ſhall be entirely reſtored 'to the Engliſh; and Great Britain and France 'ſhall reſpectively keep whatever dominions in 'North America each of them ſhall be in poſſeſ-'ſion of, when the ratification of this treaty ſhall 'be publiſhed in thoſe parts of the world.'

The firſt ſix articles were allowed without any difficulty, except that about Dunkirk, where France was to have an equivalent to be ſettled in a general treaty; a difficulty ariſing upon the ſeventh article, the propoſed equivalent was allowed inſtead thereof.

The laſt article was referred to the general treaty of peace, only the French were to have the power of fiſhing for cod, and drying them on the iſland of Newfoundland.

Theſe articles were to be looked upon as conditions which the moſt Chriſtian king conſented to allow, and whenever a general peace ſhould be ſigned, they were to be digeſted into the uſual form of a treaty, to the ſatisfaction of both crowns.

The queen having thus provided for the ſecurity and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace ſhould be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the intereſt of her allies, the next thing in order, was to procure from France ſuch preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty: Theſe were adjuſted, and ſigned the ſame day with the former, and having been delivered to the ſeveral miniſters reſiding here from the powers in alliance with England, were quickly made public; but the various conſtructions and cenſures which paſſed upon them have made it neceſſary to give the reader the following tranſcript.

PRELIMINARY ARTICLES on the Part of *France*, for effecting a general Peace.

'The king being willing to contribute all that 'is in his power to the re-eſtabliſhing of the ge-'neral peace, his majeſty declares,

'I. That he will acknowlege the Queen of 'Great Britain, in that quality; as alſo the ſuc- 'ceſſion of that crown, according to the pre- 'ſent ſettlement.

'II. That he will freely, and *bona fide*, con- 'ſent to the taking all juſt and reaſonable mea- 'ſures, for hindering that the crowns of France 'and Spain may ever be united on the head of 'the ſame prince; his majeſty being perſuaded, 'that this exceſs of power would be contrary to 'the good and quiet of Europe.

'III The king's intention is, that all the par- 'ties engaged in the preſent war, without except- 'ing any of them, may find their reaſonable ſa- 'tisfaction in the treaty of peace which ſhall be 'made: that commerce may be re-eſtabliſhed and 'maintained for the future, to the advantage of 'Great Britain, of Holland, and of the other na- 'tions who have been accuſtomed to exerciſe 'commerce.

'IV. As the king will likewiſe maintain ex- 'actly the obſervation of the peace, when it ſhall 'be concluded; and the object the king propoſes 'to himſelf being to ſecure the frontiers of his 'kingdom, without diſturbing in any manner 'whatever the neighbouring States, he promiſes 'to agree, by the treaty which ſhall be made,

'that the Dutch ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the 'fortified places which ſhall be mentioned in the 'Netherlands, to ſerve hereafter for a barrier; 'which may ſecure the quiet of the republic of 'Holland, againſt any enterprize from the part 'of France.

'V. The king conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure 'and convenient barrier ſhould be formed for the 'empire, and for the houſe of Auſtria.

'VI. Notwithſtanding Dunkirk coſt the king 'very great ſums, as well to purchaſe it, as to 'fortify it; and that it is farther neceſſary to be 'at very conſiderable expence for razing the 'works; his majeſty is willing however to en-'gage, to cauſe them to be demoliſhed, immedi-'ately after the concluſion of the peace; on con-'dition, that, for the fortifications of that place, 'a proper equivalent, that may content him, be 'given him: and, as England cannot furniſh 'that equivalent, the diſcuſſion of it ſhall be re-'ferred to the conferences to be held for the ne-'gociation of the peace.

'VII. When the conferences of the negociati-'on of the peace ſhall be formed, all the preten-'ſions of the princes and ſtates, engaged in the 'preſent war, ſhall be therein diſcuſſed *bona fide*, 'and amicably; and nothing ſhall be omitted,

' to regulate and terminate them, to the ſatisfac-
' tion of all the parties.

MESNAGER.'

Theſe overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance, made in 1701, wherein are contained the conditions, without which a peace is not to be made; and whoever compares both, will find the preliminaries to reach every point propoſed in that article, which thoſe who cenſured them at home, if they ſpoke their thoughts, did not underſtand: for nothing can be plainer than what the public hath often been told, that the recovery of Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, was a thing never imagined when the war began, but a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction to the emperor, much leſs ought ſuch a condition to be held neceſſary at preſent; not only becauſe it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable, but likewiſe becauſe, by the changes in the Auſtrian and Bourbon family, it would not be ſafe; neither did thoſe, who were loudeſt in blaming the French preliminaries, know any thing of the advantages privately ſtipulated for Britain, whoſe intereſt, they aſſured us, were all made a ſacrifice to the corruption or folly of the mana-

gers; and therefore becauſe the oppoſers of peace have been better informed by what they have ſince heard and ſeen, they have changed their battery, and accuſed the miniſters for betraying the Dutch.

The lord Raby, her majeſty's ambaſſador at the Hague, having made a ſhort journey to England, where he was created earl of Strafford, went back to Holland, about the beginning of October 1711, with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the penſionary and other miniſters of the ſtates: the earl was inſtructed to let them know, 'that the queen had, according to their deſire, returned an anſwer to 'the firſt propoſitions ſigned by Monſ. Torcy, 'ſignifying, that the French offers were thought, 'both by her majeſty and the ſtates, neither ſo 'particular nor ſo full as they ought to be, and 'inſiſting to have a diſtinct project formed of 'ſuch a peace, as the moſt Chriſtian king would 'be willing to conclude: that this affair having 'been for ſome time tranſacted by papers, and 'thereby ſubject to delays, monſieur Meſnager 'was at length ſent over to France, and had 'ſigned thoſe preliminaries now communicated 'to them; that the ſeveral articles did not in-'deed contain ſuch particular confeſſions as

'France muſt and will make in the courſe of a 'treaty, but that however her majeſty thought 'them a ſufficient foundation whereon to open 'the general conferences.

'That her majeſty was unwilling to be charg-'ed with determining the ſeveral intereſts of her 'allies, and therefore contented herſelf with ſuch 'general offers, as might include all the particu-'lar demands proper to be made during the trea-'ty, where the confederates muſt reſolve to ad-'here firmly together, in order to obtain from 'the enemy the utmoſt that could be hoped for 'in the preſent circumſtances of affairs; which 'rule her majeſty aſſured the ſtates, ſhe would 'on her part firmly obſerve.'

If the miniſters of Holland ſhould expreſs any uneaſineſs, that her majeſty may have ſettled the intereſt of her own kingdom in a future peace, by any private agreement, the ambaſſador was ordered to ſay, 'that the queen had hither-'to refuſed to have a treaty carried on in her own 'kingdom, and would continue to do ſo, unleſs 'they (the Dutch) conſtrained her to take ano-'ther meaſure: that, by theſe means, the ſtates, 'and the reſt of the allies, would have the op-'portunity of treating and adjuſting their diffe-'rent pretenſions, which her majeſty would pro-

'mote, with all the zeal ſhe had ſhewn for the 'common good, and the particular advantage of 'that republic (as they muſt do her the juſtice 'to confeſs) in the whole courſe of her reign: 'that the queen had made no ſtipulation for her-'ſelf, which might claſh with the intereſts of 'Holland: and that the articles to be inſerted 'in a future treaty, for the benefit of Britain, 'were, for the moſt part, ſuch as contained ad-'vantages, which muſt either be continued to 'the enemy, or be obtained by her majeſty; 'but however, that no conceſſion ſhould tempt 'her to hearken to a peace, unleſs her good 'friends and allies the States General had all 'reaſonable ſatisfaction as to their trade and bar-'rier, as well as in all other reſpects.'

After theſe aſſurances given in the queen's name, the earl was to inſinuate, 'That her ma-'jeſty ſhould have juſt reaſon to be offended, and 'to think the proceeding between her and the 'States very unequal, if they ſhould pretend to 'have any further uneaſineſs upon this head; 'that being determined to accept no advantages 'to herſelf, repugnant to their intereſts, nor 'any peace without their reaſonable ſatisfaction, 'the figure ſhe had made during the whole 'courſe of the war, and the part ſhe had acted

'ſuperior to any of the allies, who were more 'concerned in danger and intereſt, might juſtly 'intitle her to ſettle the concerns of Great Bri-'tain before ſhe would conſent to a general ne-'gociation.'

If the ſtates ſhould object the engagements the queen was under, by treaties, of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the barrier treaty; the ambaſſador was to anſwer, 'That as to the former, her majeſty 'had not in any ſort acted contrary thereto; that 'ſhe was ſo far from making a peace without 'their conſent, as to declare her firm reſolution 'not to make it without their ſatisfaction; and 'that what had paſſed between France and her, 'amounted to no more than an introduction to 'a general treaty. As to the latter, the earl had 'orders to repreſent very earneſtly, how much 'it was even for the intereſt of Holland itſelf, 'rather to compound the advantage of the bar-'rier treaty, than to inſiſt upon the whole, 'which the houſe of Auſtria, and ſeveral other 'allies would never conſent to; that nothing 'could be more odious to the people of England 'than many parts of this treaty, which would 'have raiſed univerſal indignation, if the utmoſt 'care had not been taken to quiet the minds of

'thoſe who were acquainted with the terms of 'that guaranty, and to conceal them from thoſe 'who were not; that it was abſolutely neceſſary 'to maintain a good harmony between both nati- 'ons, without which it would be impoſſible at any 'time to form a ſtrength for reducing an exorbi- 'tant power, or preſerving the balance of Eu- 'rope; from whence it followed, that it could 'not be the true intereſt of either country to in- 'ſiſt upon any conditions which might give juſt 'apprehenſion to the other.

'That France had propoſed Utrecht, Nime- 'guen, Aix, or Liege, wherein to hold the ge- 'neral treaty, and her majeſty was ready to ſend 'her plenipotentiaries to which ever of thoſe 'towns the ſtates ſhould approve.

If the imperial miniſters, or thoſe of the other allies, ſhould object againſt the preliminaries as no ſufficient ground for opening the conferences, and inſiſt that France ſhould conſent to ſuch articles as were ſigned on the part of the allies in the year 1709; the earl of Strafford was in anſwer directed to inſinuate, 'That the French 'might probably have been brought to explain 'themſelves more particularly, had they not per- 'ceived the uneaſineſs, impatience, and jealouſy 'among the allies, during our tranſactions with

'that court.' However he ſhould declare to them, in the queen's name, 'That if they were 'determined to accept of peace upon no terms 'inferior to what were formerly demanded, her 'majeſty was ready to concur with them, but 'would no longer bear thoſe diſproportions of ex-'pence yearly increaſed upon her, nor the deficien-'cy of the confederates in every part of the war: 'that it was therefore incumbent upon them to 'furniſh, for the future, ſuch quotas of ſhips 'and forces as they were now wanting in, and 'to increaſe their expence, while her majeſty re-'duced her's to a reaſonable and juſt propor-'tion.'

That if the miniſters of Vienna and Holland ſhould urge their inability upon this head, the queen inſiſted, 'They ought to comply with her 'in war or in peace; her majeſty deſiring no-'thing as to the firſt but what they ought to 'perform, and what is abſolutely neceſſary; and 'as to the latter, that ſhe had done, and would 'continue to do the utmoſt in her power towards 'obtaining ſuch a peace, as might be to the ſatis-'faction of all her allies.

Some days after the earl of Strafford's depar-ture to Holland, Monſ. Buys, penſioner of Am-

ſterdam, arrived here from thence with inſtructions from his maſters to treat upon the ſubject of the French preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his firſt conference with a committee of council, he objected againſt all the articles as too general and uncertain, and againſt ſome of them as prejudicial. He ſaid, 'The French promiſing that trade ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed and maintained for the future, was in order to deprive the Dutch of their Tariff of 1664; for the plenipotentiaries of that crown would certainly expound the word *Retablir* to ſignify no more, than reſtoring the trade of the ſtates to the condition it was in immediately before the commencement of the preſent war.' He ſaid, that, in the article of Dunkirk, the deſtruction of the harbour was not mentioned, and that the fortifications were only to be razed upon condition of an equivalent, which might occaſion a difference between her majeſty and the ſtates, ſince Holland would think it hard to have a town leſs in their barrier for the demolition of Dunkirk, and England would complain to have this thorn continue in their ſide, for the ſake of giving one town more to the Dutch.'

Laſtly, he objected, 'That where the French

'promiſed effectual methods ſhould be taken to 'prevent the union of France and Spain under 'the ſame king, they offered nothing at all for 'the ceſſion of Spain, which was the moſt im-'portant point of the war.

'For theſe reaſons, Monſ. Buys hoped her 'majeſty would alter her meaſures, and demand 'ſpecific articles upon which the allies might de-'bate whether they would conſent to a negoci-'ation or no.'

The queen, who looked upon all theſe difficulties raiſed about the method of treating, as endeavours to wreſt the negociation out of her hands, commanded the lords of the committee to let Monſ. Buys know, 'That the experience 'ſhe formerly had of proceeding by particular 'preliminaries toward a general treaty, gave her 'no encouragement to repeat the ſame method 'any more: that ſuch a preliminary treaty muſt 'be negociated either by ſome particular allies, 'or by all. The firſt, her majeſty could never 'ſuffer, ſince ſhe would neither take upon her 'to ſettle the intereſts of others, nor ſubmit that 'others ſhould ſettle thoſe of her own kingdoms. 'As to the ſecond, it was liable to Monſ. Buys's 'objection, becauſe the miniſters of France would 'have as fair an opportunity of ſowing diviſion

'among the allies, when they were all aſſembled 'upon a preliminary treaty, as when the confe- 'rences were open for a negociation of peace; 'that this method would therefore have no other 'effect than to delay the treaty, without any ad- 'vantage: that her majeſty was heartily diſpoſ- 'ed, both then and during the negociation, to 'inſiſt on every thing neceſſary for ſecuring the 'barrier and commerce of the ſtates, and there- 'fore hoped the conferences might be opened, 'without farther difficulties.

'That her majeſty did not only conſent, but 'deſire to have a plan ſettled for carrying on the 'war, as ſoon as the negociation of peace ſhould 'begin, but expected to have the burden equal- 'ly laid, and more agreeable to treaties, and 'would join with the allies to perform their parts, 'as ſhe had endeavoured to animate them by her 'example.'

Monſ. Buys ſeemed to know but little of his maſters mind, and pretended he had no power to conclude upon any thing. Her majeſty's miniſter propoſed to him an alliance between the two nations, to ſubſiſt after a peace. To this he hearkened very readily, and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to ne-

gociate, in order to gain time to pick out, if poſſible, the whole ſecret of the tranſactions between Britain and France, to diſcloſe nothing himſelf, nor bind his maſters to any conditions; to ſeek delays till the parliament met, and then obſerve what turn it took, and what would be the iſſue of thoſe frequent cabals between himſelf and ſome other foreign miniſters, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the diſcontented faction.

The Dutch hoped, that the clamours raiſed againſt the proceedings of the queen's miniſters towards a peace, would make the parliament diſapprove what had been done, whereby the ſtates would be at the head of the negociation, which the queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miſcarried twice already, although prince Eugene himſelf owned, 'that 'France was then diſpoſed to conclude a peace 'upon ſuch conditions, as it was not worth 'the life of a grenadier to refuſe them.' As to inſiſting upon ſpecific preliminaries, her majeſty thought her own method much better for each ally in the courſe of the negociation, to advance and manage his own pretenſions, wherein ſhe would ſupport and aſſiſt them, rather than for two miniſters of one ally to treat ſolely with the

enemy, and report what they pleaſed to the reſt, as was practiſed by the Dutch at Gertruidenberg.

One part of Monſ. Buys's inſtructions was to deſire the queen not to be ſo far amuſed by a treaty of peace, as to neglect her preparation for war againſt the next campaign. Her majeſty, who was firmly reſolved againſt ſubmitting any longer to that unequal burden of expence ſhe had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. Secretary St. John to debate the matter with that miniſter, who ſaid he had no power to treat, only inſiſted that his maſters had fully done their part, and that nothing but exhortations could be uſed to prevail on the other allies to act with greater vigour.

On the other ſide, the queen refuſed to concert any plan for the proſecution of the war, till the ſtates would join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace; which therefore, by Monſ. Buys's application to them, was accordingly done, by a reſolution taken in Holland upon the twenty-firſt of November 1711, N. S.

About this time the count de Gallas was forbid the court, by order from the queen, who ſent him word, that ſhe looked upon him no longer as a public miniſter.

This gentleman thought fit to act a very diſhonourable part here in England, altogether in-

conſiſtent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and preſent emperors; two princes under the ſtricteſt ties of gratitude to the queen, eſpecially the latter, who had then the title of king of Spain. Count Gallas, about the end of Auguſt 1711, with the utmoſt privacy, diſpatched an Italian, one of his clerks, to Frankfort, where the earl of Peterborough was then expected. This man was inſtructed to paſs for a Spaniard, and inſinuate himſelf into the earl's ſervice; which he accordingly did, and gave conſtant information to the laſt emperor's ſecretary at Frankfort, of all he could gather up in his lordſhip's family, as well as copies of ſeveral letters he had tranſcribed. It was likewiſe diſcovered that Gallas had, in his diſpatches to the preſent emperor, then in Spain, repreſented the queen and her miniſters as not to be confided in; that when her majeſty had diſmiſſed the earl of Sunderland, ſhe promiſed to proceed no further in the change of her ſervants, yet ſoon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the public credit, as well as abandoned Spain; that the preſent miniſters wanted the abilities and good diſpoſitions of the former, were perſons of ill deſigns and enemies to the common cauſe, and he (Gallas) could not truſt them. In his letters to count

Zinzendorf he ſaid, 'that Mr. Secretary St. John 'complained of the houſe of Auſtria's backward-'neſs, only to make the king of Spain odious to 'England, and the people here deſirous of a 'peace, although it were ever ſo bad a one:' to prevent which, count Gallas drew up a memorial which he intended to give the queen, and tranſmitted a draught of it to Zinzendorf for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promiſes to encourage the continuance of the war, propoſed the detaching a good body of troops from Hungary, to ſerve in Italy or Spain, as the queen ſhould think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a ſtep without conſulting the emperor; to which Gallas replied, that his deſign was only to engage the queen to go on with the war; that Zinzendorf knew how earneſtly the Engliſh and Dutch had preſſed to have theſe troops from Hungary, and therefore they ought to be promiſed, in order to quiet thoſe two nations, after which ſeveral ways might be found to elude that promiſe, and in the mean time the great point would be gained of bringing the Engliſh to declare for continuing the war: that the emperor might afterwards excuſe himſelf, by apprehenſion of a war in Hungary, or of that between the Turks and Muſco-

vites; that if theſe excuſes ſhould be at an end, a detachment of one or two regiments might be ſent, and the reſt deferred by pretending want of money, by which the queen would probably be brought to maintain ſome part of thoſe troops, and perhaps the whole body. He added, that this way of management was very common among the allies, and gave, for an example, the forces which the Dutch had promiſed for the ſervice of Spain, but were never ſent; with ſeveral other inſtances of the ſame kind, which he ſaid might be produced.

Her majeſty, who had long ſuſpected that count Gallas was engaged in theſe and the like practices, having at laſt received authentic proofs of this whole intrigue from original letters, and the voluntary confeſſion of thoſe who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it neceſſary to ſhew her reſentment, by refuſing the count any more acceſs to her perſon or her court.

Although the queen, as it hath been already obſerved, was reſolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries, yet ſhe thought it would very much forward the peace, to know what were the utmoſt conceſſions which France would make to the ſeveral allies, but eſpecially

to the ſtates-general and the duke of Savoy; therefore, while her majeſty was preſſing the former to agree to a general treaty, the abbe Gualtier was ſent to France with a memorial, to deſire that the moſt Chriſtian king would explain himſelf upon thoſe preliminaries, particularly with relation to Savoy and Holland, whoſe ſatisfaction the queen had moſt at heart, as well from her friendſhip to both theſe powers, as becauſe if ſhe might engage to them, that their juſt pretenſions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The French anſwer to this memoral contained ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals for the ſatisfaction of each ally, coming up very near to what her majeſty and her miniſters thought reaſonable. The greateſt difficulties ſeemed to be about the elector of Bavaria, for whoſe intereſts France appeared to be as much concerned, as the queen was for thoſe of the duke of Savoy; however thoſe were judged not very hard to be ſurmounted.

The ſtates having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her majeſty and that republic:

'That the congreſs ſhould be held at Utrecht; 'that the opening of the congreſs ſhould be up-'on the twelfth of January, N. S. 1711-12.

'That for avoiding all inconveniencies of ceremony, the miniſters of the queen and ſtates, 'during the treaty, ſhould have only the cha'racters of plenipotentiaries, and not take that 'of ambaſſadors, till the day on which the peace 'ſhould be ſigned.

'The queen and ſtates inſiſted, that the mi'niſters of the duke of Anjou, and the late elec'tors of Bavaria and Cologne, ſhould not appear at 'the congreſs until the points relating to their 'maſters were adjuſted; and were firmly reſolv'ed not to ſend their paſſports for the miniſters 'of France till the moſt Chriſtian king declared, 'that the abſence of the foremention'd miniſters 'ſhould not delay the progreſs of the negocia'tion.'

Purſuant to the three former articles, her majeſty wrote circular letters to all the allies engaged with her in the preſent war, and France had notice, that as ſoon as the king declared his compliance with the laſt article, the blank paſſports ſhould be filled up with the names of the marſchal D'Uxelles, the abbe de Polignac, and monſieur Meſnager, who were appointed plenipotentiaries for that crown.

From that I have hitherto deduced, the reader ſees the plan which the queen thought the moſt

effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries, the queen was to be empowered by France to offer ſeparately to the allies, what might be reaſonable for each to accept, and her own intereſts being previouſly ſettled, ſhe was to act as a general moderator, a figure that became her beſt from the part ſhe had in the war, and more uſeful to the great end at which ſhe aimed, of giving a ſafe and honourable peace to Europe.

Beſides, it was abſolutely neceſſary for the intereſts of Britain, that the queen ſhould be at the head of the negociation, without which her majeſty could find no expedient to redreſs the injuries her kingdoms were ſure to ſuffer by the barrier treaty. In order to ſettle this point with the ſtates, the miniſters here had a conference with Monſ. Buys a few days before the parliament met. He was told, 'how neceſſary it was 'by a previous concert between the emperor, the 'queen, and the ſtates, to prevent any difference 'which might ariſe in the courſe of the Utrecht 'treaty; that under pretence of a barrier for the 'ſtates-general, as their ſecurity againſt France, 'infinite prejudice might ariſe to the trade of 'Britain in the Spaniſh Netherlands; for by the 'fifteenth article of the barrier treaty, in conſe-

'quence of what was ſtipulated by that of Mun-
'ſter, the queen was brought to engage, that
'commerce ſhall not be rendered more eaſy in
'point of duties, by the ſea-ports of Flanders,
'than it is by the river Scheld, and by the ca-
'nals on the ſide of the ſeven provinces, which,
'as things now ſtood, was very unjuſt; for
'while the towns in Flanders were in the hands
'of France or Spain, the Dutch and we traded
'to them upon equal foot; but now, ſince by
'the barrier treaty thoſe towns were to be poſ-
'ſeſſed by the ſtates, that republic might lay
'what duties they pleaſed upon Britiſh goods af-
'ter paſſing by Oſtend, and make their own
'cuſtom free, which would utterly ruin our
'whole trade with Flanders.'

Upon this the lords told monſieur Buys very frankly, 'that if the ſtates expected the queen 'ſhould ſupport their barrier, as well as their 'demands from France and the houſe of Auſtria, 'upon that head, they ought to agree, that the 'ſubjects of Britain ſhould trade as freely to all 'the countries and places which, by virtue of 'any former or future treaty, were to become 'the barrier of the ſtates, as they did in the time 'of the late king Charles the ſecond of Spain, 'or as the ſubjects of the ſtates-general them-

'ſelves ſhall do: and that it was hoped their 'high mightineſſes would never ſcruple to recti-'fy a miſtake ſo injurious to that nation, with-'out whoſe blood and treaſure they would have 'had no barrier at all.' Monſieur Buys had nothing to anſwer againſt theſe objections, but ſaid, he had already wrote to his maſters for further inſtructions.

Greater difficulties occurred about ſettling what ſhould be the barrier to the ſtates after a peace, the envoy inſiſting to have all the towns that were named in the treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion; and the queen's miniſters expecting thoſe towns, which, if they continued in the hands of the Dutch, would render the trade of Britain to Flanders precarious. At length it was agreed, in general, that the ſtates ought to have what is really eſſential to the ſecurity of their barrier againſt France, and that ſome amicable expedient ſhould be found for removing the fears of Britain and Holland upon this point.

But at the ſame time monſieur Buys was told, 'That although the queen would certainly inſiſt 'to obtain all thoſe points from France, in be-'half of her allies the ſtates, yet ſhe hoped his 'maſters were too reaſonable to break off the 'treaty, rather than not obtain the very utmoſt

'of their demands, which could not be ſettled 'here, unleſs he were fully inſtructed to ſpeak 'and conclude upon that ſubject: that her ma- 'jeſty thought, the beſt way of ſecuring the com- 'mon intereſt, and preventing the diviſion of 'the allies by the artifices of France, in the 'courſe of a long negociation, would be the con- 'cert between the queen's miniſters and thoſe of 'the ſtates, with a due regard to the other con- 'federates, ſuch a plan as might amount to a 'ſafe and honourable peace.' After which the abbe Polignac, who of the French plenipotentiaries was moſt in the ſecret of his court, might be told, 'That it was in vain to amuſe each o- 'ther any longer; that on ſuch terms the peace 'would be immediately concluded; and that the 'conferences muſt ceaſe, if thoſe conditions were 'not without delay, and with expedition, grant- 'ed.'

A treaty between her majeſty and ſtates, to ſubſiſt after a peace, was now ſigned, monſieur Buys having received full powers to that purpoſe; his maſters were deſirous to have a private article added, *ſub ſperati*, concerning thoſe terms of peace, without the granting of which we ſhould ſtipulate not to agree with the enemy. But neither the character of Buys, nor the manner in

which he was empowered to treat, would allow the queen to enter into ſuch an engagement; the congreſs likewiſe approaching, there was not time to ſettle a point of ſo great importance. Neither, laſtly, would her majeſty be tied down by Holland, without previous ſatisfaction upon ſeveral articles in the barrier treaty, ſo inconſiſtent with her engagement to other powers in alliance, and ſo injurious to her own kingdoms.

The lord privy ſeal, and the earl of Strafford, having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her majeſty's plenipotentiaries for treating a general peace, I ſhall here break off the account of any further progreſs made in that great affair, until I reſume it in the laſt book of this hiſtory.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK III.

THE houſe of commons ſeemed reſolved, from the beginning of the ſeſſion, to enquire ſtrictly not only into all abuſes relating to the accounts of the army, but likewiſe into the ſeveral treaties between us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they were firſt agreed to, and how theſe had been ſince obſerved. In the firſt week of their ſitting, they ſent an addreſs to the queen, to deſire that the treaty, whereby her majeſty was obliged to furniſh forty thouſand men, to act in conjunction with the for-

ces of her allies in the Low-countries, might be laid before the houſe. To which the ſecretary of ſtate brought an anſwer, 'That ſearch had 'been made, but no footſteps could be found of 'any treaty or convention for that purpoſe.' It was this unaccountable neglect in the former miniſtry, which firſt gave a pretence to the allies for leſſening their quota's, ſo much to the diſadvantage of her majeſty, her kingdoms, and the common cauſe, in the courſe of the war. It had been ſtipulated by the grand alliance, between the emperor, Britain, and the ſtates, that thoſe three powers ſhould aſſiſt each other with their whole force, and that the ſeveral proportions ſhould be ſpecified in a particular convention; but if any ſuch convention were made, it was never ratified, only the parties agreed, by common conſent, to take each a certain ſhare of the burden upon themſelves, which the late king William communicated to the houſe of commons by his ſecretary of ſtate, and which afterwards the other two powers, obſerving the mighty zeal in our miniſtry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleaſed.

The commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom, had, in executing their office the preceeding ſummer, diſcovered ſe-

veral practices relating to the affairs of the army, which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the houſe.

The commons began their examination of the report, with a member of their own, Mr. Robert Walpole, already mentioned, who, during his being ſecretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the queen's troops quartered in Scotland. He endeavoured to excuſe the firſt contract; but had nothing to ſay about the ſecond. The firſt appeared ſo plain and ſo ſcandalous to the commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of truſt, and notorious corruption, committed him priſoner to the tower, where he continued to the end of the ſeſſion, and expelled him the houſe. He was a perſon much careſſed by the oppoſers of the queen and miniſtry, having been firſt drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept ſteady by the loſs of his place. His bold forward countenance, altogether a ſtranger to that infirmity which makes men baſhful, joined to a readineſs of ſpeaking in public, hath juſtly intitled him among thoſe of his faction, to be a ſort of leader of the ſecond form. The reader muſt ex-

cuſe me for being ſo particular about one, who is altogether obſcure.

Another part of the report concerned the duke of Marlborough, who had received large ſums of money, by way of gratuity, from thoſe who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the duke excuſed, in a letter to the commiſſioners, from the like practice of other generals; but that excuſe appeared to be of little weight, and the miſchievous conſequences of ſuch a corruption were viſible enough, ſince the money given by theſe undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And as frauds, that begin at the top, are apt to ſpread through all the ſubordinate ranks of thoſe who have any ſhare in the management, and to increaſe as they circulate; ſo, in this caſe, for every thouſand pounds given to the general, the ſoldiers at leaſt ſuffered fourfold.

Another article of this report, relating to the duke, was yet of more importance: the greateſt part of her majeſty's forces in Flanders, were mercenary troops, hired from ſeveral princes of Europe. It was found, that the queen's general ſubſtracted two and a half *per cent.* out of the pay of thoſe troops, for his own uſe, which a-

mounted to a great annual ſum. The duke of Marlborough, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commiſſioners, 'That this deduction was a free 'gift from the foreign troops, which he had ne-'gociated with them by the late king's orders, 'and had obtained the queen's warrant for re-'ceiving it: that it was intended for ſecret ſer-'vice, the ten thouſand pounds a year, given by 'parliament, not proving ſufficient, and had all 'been laid out that way.' The commiſſioners obſerved in anſwer, 'That the warrant was kept 'dormant for nine years, as indeed no entry of 'it appears in the ſecretary of ſtate's books, 'and the deduction of it concealed all the time 'from the knowlege of parliament; that if it 'had been a free gift from the foreign troops, 'it would not have been ſtipulated by agree-'ment, as the duke's letter confeſſed, and 'as his warrant declared; which letter affirm-'ed this ſtoppage to be intended for defray-'ing extraordinary contingent expences of the 'troops, and therefore ſhould not have been 'applied to ſecret ſervices.' They ſubmitted to the houſe, whether the warrant itſelf where legal or duly counter-ſigned: the commiſſioners added, 'That no receipt was ever given for this deduct-

'ed money, nor was it mentioned in any receipts 'from the foreign troops, which were always 'taken in full. And laſtly, that the whole ſum, 'on computation, amounted to near three hun-'dred thouſand pounds.'

The houſe, after a long debate, reſolved, 'That the taking ſeveral ſums from the contrac-'tors for bread, by the duke of Marlborough, 'was unwarrantable and illegal; and that the 'two and a half *per cent*, deducted from the fo-'reign troops, was public money, and ought to 'be accounted for.' Which reſolutions were laid before the queen by the whole houſe, and her majeſty promiſed to do her part in redreſſing what was complained of. The duke and his friends had, about the beginning of the war, by their credit with the queen, procured a warrant from her majeſty for this perquiſite of two and a half *per cent*. The warrant was directed to the duke of Marlborough, and counter-ſigned by Sir Charles Hedges, then ſecretary of ſtate; by virtue of which the paymaſter-general of the army was to pay the ſaid deducted money to the general, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It was obſerved, as very commendable and becoming the dignity of ſuch an aſſembly, that this

debate was managed with great temper, and with few perſonal reflections upon the duke of Marlborough. They ſeemed only deſirous to come at the truth, without which they could not anſwer the truſt repoſed in them, by thoſe whom they repreſented, and left the reſt to her majeſty's prudence. The attorney general was ordered to commence an action againſt the duke for the ſubtracted money, which would have amounted to a great ſum, enough to ruin any private perſon, except himſelf. This proceſs is ſtill depending, although very moderately purſued, either by the queen's indulgence to one whom ſhe had formerly ſo much truſted, or perhaps to be revived or ſlackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. Cardonell, a member of parliament, and ſecretary to the general in Flanders, was expelled the houſe, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from thoſe who had contracted to furniſh bread for the army, and met with no farther puniſhment, for a practice voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

Theſe were all the cenſures of any moment which the commons, under ſo great a weight of buſineſs, thought fit to make, upon the reports

of their commiſſioners for inſpecting the public accompts. But having promiſed, in the beginning of this hiſtory, to examine the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to its debts; by what negligence or corruption they firſt began, and in proceſs of time made ſuch a prodigious increaſe; and laſtly, what courſes have been taken, under the preſent adminiſtration, to find out funds for anſwering ſo many unprovided incumberances, as well as put a ſtop to new ones, I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the hiſtory of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debt, ſecured upon parliamentary funds of intereſt, were things unknown to England before the laſt revolution under the prince of Orange. It is true, that, in the grand rebellion, the king's enemies borrowed money of particular perſons, upon what they called the public faith; but this was only for ſhort periods, and the ſums for no more than what they could pay at once, as they conſtantly did. Some of our kings have been very profuſe in peace and war, and are blamed in hiſtory for their oppreſſions of the people by ſevere taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid: but national debts was a ſtile which, I doubt, would hardly then be underſtood. When

the prince of Orange was raiſed to the throne, and a general war was begun in theſe parts of Europe, the king and his counſellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in eaſe and plenty, and might be apt to think deliverance too dearly bought; wherefore one of the firſt actions of the new government was to take off the tax upon chimneys, as a burden very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money being wanted to ſupport the war (which even the convention parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he ſhould engage in) the preſent biſhop of Saliſbury * is ſaid to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in Holland) of raiſing money upon the ſecurity of taxes, that were only ſufficient to pay a large intereſt. The motives, which prevailed on people to fall in with this project, were many and plauſible; for ſuppoſing, as the miniſters induſtriouſly gave out, that the war could not laſt above one or two compaigns at moſt, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes, and the debts accruing would, in proceſs of time, be eaſily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large in-

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

tereſt would draw in a great number of thoſe, whoſe money, by the dangers and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were leaders to the government would, by ſureſt principle, be obliged to ſupport it: Beſides, the men of eſtates could not be perſuaded, without time and difficulty, to have thoſe taxes laid on their hands, which cuſtom hath ſince made ſo familiar; and it was the buſineſs of ſuch as were then in power, to cultivate a monied intereſt, becauſe the gentry of the kingdom did not very much reliſh thoſe new notions in government, to which the king, who had imbibed his politics in his own country, was thought to give too much way. Neither perhaps did that prince think national incumberances to be any evil at all, ſince the flouriſhing republic, where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to monſieur Buys the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, that it was for the intereſt of the public to be in debt; which perhaps may be true in a commonwealth ſo crazily inſtituted, where the governors cannot have too many pledges of their ſubjects fidelity, and where a great majority muſt inevitably be undone by any revolution, however

brought about: but to preſcribe the ſame rules to a monarchy, whoſe wealth ariſeth from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped underſtanding.

I was moved to ſpeak thus, becauſe I am very well ſatisfied, that the pernicious counſels of borrowing money upon public funds of intereſt, as well as ſome other ſtate-leſſons, were taken from the like practices among the Dutch, without allowing in the leaſt for any difference in government, religion, law, cuſtom, extent of country, or manners and diſpoſitions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was firſt put in practice, artful men, in office and credit, began to conſider what uſes it might be applied to; and ſoon found it was likely to prove the moſt fruitful ſeminary, not only to eſtabliſh a faction they intended to ſet up for their own ſupport, but likewiſe to raiſe vaſt wealth for themſelves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifeſt, that nothing could promote theſe two deſigns ſo much, as burdening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the firſt, it was not to be doubted, that monied men would be always firm to the party of

thoſe who adviſed the borrowing upon ſuch good ſecurity, and with ſuch exorbitant premiums and intereſt; and every new ſum, that was lent, took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to theirs: ſo that the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was ſtill the better for them. Thus a new eſtate and property ſprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every houſe and foot of land in England paid a rent-charge, free of all taxes and defalcations, and puchaſed at leſs than half value. So that the gentlemen of eſtates were, in effect, but tenants to theſe new landlords; many of whom were able, in time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of thoſe who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived to ſuch a height, that a very few years more of war and funds would have clearly caſt the balance on the monied ſide.

As to the ſecond, this project of borrowing upon funds was of mighty advantage to thoſe who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving deficient, the government was obliged to ſtrike tallies for making up the reſt, which tallies were ſometimes (to ſpeak in the merchants phraſe) at above forty *per cent.* diſcount. At this price

thoſe who were in the ſecret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency ſupplied in the next ſeſſion of parliament, by which they doubled their principal in a few months; and, for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities propoſed ſome farther advantage, either as to intereſt or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already ſettled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of five millions one hundred thouſand pounds. In the firſt parliament of the queen, the ſaid mortgage was continued till 1710, to ſupply a deficiency of two millions three hundred thouſand pounds, and intereſt of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety nine years; ſo that the late miniſtry raiſed all their money to 1710, only by continuing funds which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were ſatisfied to continue the payments they had been accuſtomed to, and made the adminiſtration ſeem eaſy, ſince the war went on without any new taxes raiſed, except the very laſt year they were in power; not con-

ſidering what a mighty fund was exhauſted, and muſt be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true intereſt of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty ſums borrowed upon it, but with the intereſts due upon theſe ſums; for which the treaſury was forced to ſtrike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other proviſion of intereſt for three or four years: till at laſt the fund was ſo overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor intereſt, and tallies were ſtruck for both, which occaſioned their great diſcount.

But to avoid miſtakes upon a ſubject, where I am not very well verſed either in the ſtile or matter, I will tranſcribe an account ſent me by a perſon † who is thoroughly inſtructed in theſe affairs.

'In the year 1707, the ſum of eight hundred 'twenty-two thouſand three hundred and eighty-'one pounds fifteen ſhillings and ſix-pence was 'raiſed, by continuing part of the general mort-'gage from 1710 to 1712; but with no pro-'viſion of intereſt till Auguſt the firſt, 1710, 'otherwiſe than by ſtriking tallies for it on

† Sir John Blunt.

'that fund, payable after all the other money 'borrowed.

'In 1708, the ſame funds were continued from '1712 to 1714, to raiſe ſeven hundred and 'twenty-nine thouſand ſixty-ſeven pounds fif-'teen ſhillings and ſixpence; but no proviſion 'for intereſt till Auguſt the firſt, 1712, other-'wiſe than as before, by ſtriking tallies for it on 'the ſame fund, payable after all the reſt of the 'money borrowed. And the diſcount of tallies 'then beginning to riſe, great part of that mo-'ney remains ſtill unraiſed; and there is nothing 'to pay intereſt for the money lent, till Auguſt 'the firſt, 1712. But the late lord treaſurer ſtruck 'tallies for the full ſum directed by the act to 'be borrowed, great part of which have been 'delivered in payment to the navy and victual-'ing offices, and ſome are ſtill in the hands of 'the government.

'In 1709, part of the ſame fund was continu-'ed from Auguſt the firſt, 1714, to Auguſt the 'firſt 1716, to raiſe ſix hundred forty-five thou-'ſand pounds; and no proviſion for intereſt till 'Auguſt the firſt, 1714, (which was about five 'years) but by borrowing money on the ſame 'fund, payable after the ſums before lent; ſo 'that little of that money was lent. But the tal-

'lies were ſtruck for what was unlent, ſome of 'which were given out for the payment of the 'navy and victualling, and ſome ſtill remain in 'the hands of the government.

'In 1710, the ſums which were before given 'from 1714, to 1716, were continued from 'thence to 1720, to raiſe one million two hun-'dred and ninety-ſix thouſand five hundred and 'fifty two pounds nine ſhillings and eleven pence 'three farthings; and no immediate proviſion for 'intereſt till Auguſt the firſt, 1716, only, after 'the duty of one ſhilling per buſhel on ſalt ſhould 'be cleared from the money it was then charged 'with, and which was not ſo cleared till Mid-'ſummer 1712 laſt, then that fund was to be 'applied to pay the intereſt till Auguſt the firſt, '1716, which intereſt amounted to about ſeven-'ty ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-'three pounds, *per annum:* and the ſaid ſalt 'fund produceth but about fifty-five thouſand 'pounds *per annum;* ſo that no money was bor-'rowed upon the general mortgage in 1710, ex-'cept one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds 'lent by the Swiſs cantons; but tallies were 'ſtruck for the whole ſum. Theſe all remained 'in the late treaſurer's hands at the time of his

'removal, yet the money was expended, which 'occaſioned thoſe great demands upon the com-'miſſioners of the treaſury who ſucceeded him, 'and were forced to pawn thoſe tallies to the 'bank, or to remitters, rather than ſell them 'at twenty or twenty-five *per cent.* diſcount, 'as the price then was. About two hundred 'thouſand pounds of them they paid to clo-'thiers of the army, and others; and all the 'reſt being above ninety thouſand pounds, have 'been ſubſcribed unto the ſouth-ſea company 'for the uſe of the public.'

When the earl of Godolphin was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the navy of millions all contracted under his adminiſtration, which had no parliament ſecurity, and was daily increaſed. Neither could I ever learn, whether that lord had the ſmalleſt proſpect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or deſpair at the bottom of this unaccountable management; but the conſequences were viſible and ruinous; for by this means navy bills grew to be forty *per cent.* diſcount, and upwards; and almoſt every kind of ſtores, bought by the navy and victualling offices, coſt the government double rates, and ſometimes more: ſo that the public hath directly loſt

ſeveral millions upon this one article, without any ſort of neceſſity, that I could ever hear aſigned by the ableſt vindicators of that party.

In this oppreſſed and intangled ſtate was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the queen removed the earl of Godolphin from his office, and put it into commiſſion, of which the preſent treaſurer was one. This perſon had been choſen ſpeaker ſucceſſively in three parliaments, was afterwards ſecretary of ſtate, and always in great eſteem with the queen for his wiſdom and fidelity. The late miniſtry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her majeſty, much againſt her inclination, to diſmiſs him from her ſervice; for which they cannot be juſtly blamed ſince he had endeavoured the ſame thing againſt them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that he ſhould ſucceed in a ſecond attempt againſt thoſe very adverſaries, who had ſuch fair warning by the firſt. He is firm and ſteady in his reſolutions, not eaſily diverted from them after he hath once poſſeſſed himſelf of an opinion that they are right, nor very communicative where he can act by himſelf, being taught by experience, that a ſecret is ſeldom ſafe in more than one breaſt. That which occurs to other men after mature deliberati-

on, offers to him as his firſt thoughts; ſo that he decides immediately what is beſt to be done, and therefor is ſeldom at a loſs upon ſudden exigencies. He thinks it a more eaſy and ſafe rule in politics to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he purſues, than pretend to foreſee them at a diſtance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly ſtrangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar to his temper, which I altogether diſapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean, an eaſineſs and indifference under any imputation, although the ſtrongeſt probabilities and appearances are againſt him; ſo that I have known him often ſuſpected by his neareſt friends, for ſome months, in points of the higheſt importance, to a degree, that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cnnning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the ſenſe they take the word, and as it is uſually underſtood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with leſs juſtice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he hath been at the helm,

doth clearly demonſtrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in ſerving little turns, propoſing little ends, and ſupplying daily exigencies by little ſhifts and expedients. But to reſcue a prince out of the hands of inſolent ſubjects, bent upon ſuch deſigns as muſt probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying ſuch exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the moſt important fortreſs of his kingdom, as a ſecurity; and this againſt all the oppoſition, mutually raiſed and inflamed by parties and allies; ſuch performances can only be called cunning by thoſe whoſe want of underſtanding, or of candor, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, neither which themſelves do poſſeſs, nor can form any juſt conception of. However, it muſt be allowed, that an obſtinate love of ſecrecy in this miniſter ſeems, at diſtance, to have ſome reſemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of ſecrets, but appears to be ſo too, which I number amongſt his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends for refuſing to diſcover his

intentions, even in thoſe points where the wiſeſt men may have need of advice and aſſiſtance; and ſome have cenſured him, upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he hath been heard to anſwer, 'That he ſeldom did otherwiſe, without cauſe to repent.'

However, ſo undiſtinguiſhed a caution cannot, in my opinion, be juſtified, by which the owner loſeth many advantages, and whereof all men, who deſerved to be confided in, may with reaſon complain. His love of procraſtination (wherein doubtleſs nature hath her ſhare) may probably be increaſed by the ſame means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great miniſters, who like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the leaſt conſequence, and go back to fetch it when their ſhoulders are free; for time is often gained, as well as loſt, by delay, which at worſt is a fault on the ſecurer ſide. Neither probably is this miniſter anſwerable for half the clamour raiſed againſt him upon that article: his endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular perſons, which renders him leſs amiable, than he would otherwiſe have been from the goodneſs of his humour, and a-

greeable converſation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet ſome allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greateſt he hath, ſince he cannot be more careleſs of other mens fortunes than he is of his own. He is maſter of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty uſe in the management of public affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age, of a perſon who hath paſſed through ſo many employments in the ſtate, endowed with a great ſhare, both of divine and human learning.

I am perſuaded that foreigners, as well as thoſe at home, who live too remote from the ſcene of buſineſs to be rightly informed, will not be diſpleaſed with this account of the perſon, who, in the ſpace of two years, hath been ſo highly inſtrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe, and hath deſerved ſo well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts, which I have already deſcribed, this miniſter was brought into the treaſury and exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His firſt regulation was that of exchequer bills, which, to the great diſcouragement of public credit, and ſcan-

dal to the crown, were three *per cent.* leſs in value than the ſums ſpecified in them. The preſent treaſurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the bank of England ſhould be obliged, in conſideration of forty-five thouſand pounds, to accept and circulate thoſe bills without any diſcount. He then proceeded to ſtop the depredations of thoſe who dealt in remittances of money to the army, who, by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffic, had amaſſed prodigious wealth at the public coſt, to which the earl of Godolphin had given too much way, * *poſſibly by neglect; for I think he cannot be accuſed of corruption.*

But the new treaſurer's chief concern was to reſtore the credit of the nation, by finding ſome ſettlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the public as a load equally heavy and diſgraceful, without any proſpect of being removed, and which former miniſters never had the care or courage to inſpect. He reſolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and ſummed up the debt of the navy, and victualling, ordinance, and tranſport of the army, and tranſport debentures made out for the ſervice of the

* Added in the author's own hand-writing.

laſt war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year 1710, and ſome other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of intereſt ſufficient to anſwer all this, which, being applied to other uſes, could not raiſe preſent money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing intereſt was to be paid by the treaſurer of the navy; and, as a farther advantage to the creditors, they ſhould be erected into a company for trading to the ſouth-ſeas, and for encouragement of fiſhery. When all this was fully prepared and digeſted, he made a motion in the houſe of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy, and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars, which was immediately voted. But a ſudden ſtop was put to this affair by an unforeſeen accident. The chancellor of the exchequer (which was then his title) being ſtabbed with a penkniſe, the following day, at the cockpit, in the midſt of a dozen lords of the council, by the ſieur de Guiſcard, a French papiſt; the circumſtances of which fact being not within the compaſs of this hiſtory, I ſhall only obſerve, that after two months confinement, and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his ſeat in parliament *.

* See the particular account in the Examiner.

The overtures made by this miniſter, of paying ſo vaſt a debt, under the preſſures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding ſupplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illneſs, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and viſionary project: and when, upon his return to the houſe, he had explained his propoſal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppoſe it; although the obtaining this trade, either through Old Spain, or directly to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill paſſed; and, as an immediate conſequence, the naval bills roſe to about twenty *per cent.* nor ever fell within ten of their diſcount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have been ſince erected. The laſt of that kind, under the former miniſtry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the firſt, under the preſent, was filled in a very few hours, although it coſt the government leſs; and the others, which followed, were full before the acts concerning them could paſs. And to prevent incumberances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmoſt parſimony, or by ſuſpending payments, where they ſeemed leſs to preſs, that

all ſtores for the navy ſhould be bought with ready money; by which *cent. per cent.* hath been ſaved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the victualling-office on the ninth of Auguſt, 1712. And the payment of the intereſt was leſs a burden upon the navy, by the ſtores being bought at ſo cheap a rate.

It might look inviduous to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of ſmaller moment. What I have above related, may ſerve to ſhew in how ill a condition the kingdom ſtood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption as well as negligence of former management; and what prudent, effectual meaſures have ſince been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be ſufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a ſubject ſo little entertaining as that of accounts: I ſhall therefore now return to relate ſome of the principal matters that paſſed in parliament, during this ſeſſion.

Upon the eighteenth of January the houſe of lords ſent down a bill to the commons, for fixing the precedence of the Hanover family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown. That of Henry VIII.

which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces, and grand-children of the crown; by virtue of which the princeſs Sophia is a princeſs of the blood, as niece to king Charles I. of England, and precedes accordingly; but this privilege doth not deſcend to her ſon the elector, or the electoral prince. To ſupply which defect, and pay a compliment to the preſumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appeareth by the preamble, was recommended by her majeſty to the houſe of lords; which the commons, to ſhew their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the intereſt or honour of that illuſtrious family, ordered to be read thrice, and paſſed *nemine contradicente*, and returned to the lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was ſent down.

But the houſe ſeemed to have nothing more at heart than a ſtrict inquiry into the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to foreign alliances. Some diſcourſes had been publiſhed in print, about the beginning of the ſeſſion, boldly complaining of certain articles in the barrier-treaty, concluded about three years ſince by the lord viſcount Townſend, between Great Britain and the States general; and ſhewing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of theſe powers in

our alliance, in furniſhing their quotas and ſupplies. It was aſſerted by the ſame writers, 'That 'theſe hardſhips, put upon England, had been 'countenanced and encouraged by a party here 'at home, in order to preſerve their power, 'which could be no otherwiſe maintained than 'by continuing the war, as well as by her ma-'jeſty's general abroad, upon account of his own 'peculiar intereſt and grandeur.' Theſe loud accuſations ſpreading themſelves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had ſufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and, by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controverſies, both in writing and diſcourſe. The point appeared to be of great conſequence, whether the war continued or not: for, in the former caſe, it was neceſſary that the allies ſhould be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the ſtates in particular, for whom her majeſty had done ſuch great things, ſhould explain and correct thoſe articles in the barrier treaty which were prejudicial to Britain; and, in either caſe, it was fit the people ſhould have at leaſt the ſatisfaction of knowing by whoſe coun-

ſels, and for what deſigns, they had been ſo hardly treated.

In order to this great inquiry, the barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her majeſty and her allies, during the preſent war, for the raiſing and augmenting the proportions for the ſervice thereof, were, by the queen's directions, laid before the houſe.

Several reſolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furniſhing their quotas, upon certain articles in the barrier-treaty, and upon the ſtate of the war; by all which it appeared, that whatever had been charged by public diſcourſes in print againſt the late miniſtry, and the conduct of the allies, was much leſs than the truth. Upon theſe reſolutions (by one of which the lord viſcount Townſend, who negociated and ſigned the barrier-treaty, was declared an enemy to the the queen and kingdom,) and upon ſome farther directions to the committee, a repreſentation was formed; and ſoon after the commons in a body preſented it to the queen, the endeavours of the adverſe party not prevailing to have it recommitted.

This repreſentation, ſuppoſed to be the work of Sir Thomas Hanmers's pen, is written with

much energy and ſpirit, and will be a very uſeful authentic record, for the aſſiſtance of thoſe who at any time ſhall undertake to write the hiſtory of the preſent times.

I did intend, for brevity ſake, to have given the reader only an abſtract of it; but, upon trial, found myſelf unequal to ſuch a taſk, without injuring ſo excellent a piece. And although I think hiſtorical relations are but ill patched up with long tranſcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided; yet this being the ſum of all debates and reſolutions of the houſe of commons, in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not be well omitted.

'*Moſt gracious Sovereign,*

'WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal 'ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain in par-'liament aſſembled, having nothing ſo much at 'heart as to enable your majeſty to bring this 'long and expenſive war to an honourable and 'happy concluſion, have taken it into our 'moſt ſerious conſideration, how the neceſſary 'ſupplies to be provided by us may be beſt ap-'plied, and how the common cauſe may in the 'moſt effectual manner be carried on, by the 'united force of the whole confederacy; we

'have thought ourſelves obliged, in duty to your 'majeſty, and in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in 'us, to enquire into the true ſtate ofthe war, in 'all its parts; we have examined what ſtipulations 'have been entered into between your majeſty and 'allies; and how far ſuch engagements have on 'each ſide been made good. We have conſider-'ed the different intereſts which the confederates 'have in the ſucceſs of this war, and the diffe-'rent ſhares they have contributed to its ſupport: 'we have, with our utmoſt care and diligence, 'endeavoured to diſcover the nature, extent, and 'charge of it, to the end, that by comparing the 'weight thereof with our own ſtrength, we 'might adopt the one to the other in ſuch mea-'ſure, as neither to continue your majeſty's ſub-'jects under a heavier burden, than in reaſon 'and juſtice they ought to bear; nor deceive 'your majeſty, your allies, and ourſelves, by 'undertaking more than the nation in its preſent 'circumſtances is able to perform.

'Your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed, up-'on our humble applications, to order ſuch ma-'terials to be laid before us, as have furniſhed 'us with the neceſſary information upon the par-'ticulars we have inquired into; and when we 'ſhall have laid before your majeſty our obſerva-

'tions, and humble advice upon this ſubject, we 'promiſe to ourſelves this happy fruit from it, 'that if your majeſty's generous and good pur-'poſes, for the procuring a ſafe and laſting peace, 'ſhould, through the obſtinacy of the enemy, 'or by any other means, be unhappily defeated, 'a true knowlege and underſtanding of the paſt 'conduct of the war will be the beſt foundation 'for a more frugal and equal management of it 'for the time to come.

'In order to take the more perfect view of 'what we propoſed, and that we might be able 'to ſet the whole before your majeſty in a true 'light, we have thought it neceſſary to go back 'to the beginning of the war, and beg leave to 'obſerve the motives and reaſons, upon which 'his late majeſty king William firſt engaged in 'it. The treaty of the grand alliance explains 'thoſe reaſons to be for the ſupporting the pre-'tenſions of his imperial majeſty, then actually 'engaged in a war with the French king, who 'had uſurped the intire Spaniſh monarchy 'for his grandſon the duke of Anjou; and for 'the aſſiſting the ſtates-general, who, by the 'loſs of their barrier againſt France, were then 'in the ſame, or a more dangerous condition, 'than if they were actually invaded. As theſe

'were the juſt and neceſſary motives for under-
'taking this war, ſo the ends propoſed to be ob-
'tained by it, were equally wiſe and honourable;
'for, as they are ſet forth in the eighth article of
'the ſame treaty, they appear to have been *the*
'*procuring an equitable and reaſonable ſatisfaction*
'*to his imperial majeſty, and ſufficient ſecurities*
'*for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and com-*
'*merce of the king of Great Britain, and the ſtates*
'*general, and the making effectual proviſion, that*
'*the two kingdoms of France and Spain ſhould*
'*never be united under the ſame government;* and
'particularly, that the French ſhould never get
'into poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, or
'be permitted to ſail thither, upon the account
'of traffic, or under any pretence whatſoever;
'and laſtly, the ſecuring to the ſubjects of the
'king of Great Britain, and the ſtates general,
'all the ſame privileges, and rights of commerce,
'throughout the whole dominions of Spain, as
'they enjoyed before the death of Charles the
'Second, king of Spain, by virtue of any treaty,
'agreement, or cuſtom, or any other way what-
'ſoever. For the obtaining theſe ends, the three
'confederated powers engaged to aſſiſt one ano-
'ther with their whole force, according to ſuch
'proportions as ſhould be ſpecified in a particu-

'lar convention, afterwards to be made for that 'purpoſe: we do not find that any ſuch conven-'tion was ever ratified; but it appears, that 'there was an agreement concluded, which, by 'common conſent, was underſtood to be binding 'upon each party reſpectively, and according to 'which the proportions of Great Britain were 'from the beginning regulated and founded. 'The terms of that agreement were, that for 'the ſervice at land, his imperial majeſty ſhould 'furniſh ninety thouſand, and the ſtates general 'one hundred and two thouſand, of which there 'were forty-two thouſand intended to ſupply 'their garriſons, and ſixty thouſand to act againſt 'the common enemy in the field; and with re-'gard to the operations of the war at ſea, they 'were agreed to be performed jointly by Great 'Britain and the ſtates general, the quota of 'ſhips to be furniſhed for that ſervice being five 'eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three 'on the part of the ſtates general.

'Upon this foot, the war began in the year '1702, at which time the whole yearly expence 'of it to England amounted to three millions 'ſeven hundred and ninety-four pounds; a very 'great charge, as it was then thought by your 'majeſty's ſubjects, after the ſhort interval of

'eaſe they had enjoyed from the burden of the 'former war, but yet a very moderate proporti- 'on, in compariſon with the load which hath 'ſince been laid upon them: for it appears, by 'eſtimates given in to your commons, that the 'ſums neceſſary to carry on the ſervice for this 'preſent year, in the ſame manner it was perform- 'ed the laſt year, amounted to more than ſix mil- 'lions nine hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, 'beſides intereſt for the public debts, and the 'deficiencies accruing the laſt year, which two 'require one million one hundred and forty-three 'thouſand pounds more; ſo that the whole de- 'mands upon your commons are ariſen to more 'than eight millions for the preſent annual ſup- 'ply. We knew your majeſty's tender regard for 'the welfare of your people, will make it uneaſy 'to you to hear of ſo great a preſſure as this up- 'on them; and as we are aſſured, it will fully 'convince your majeſty of the neceſſity of our 'preſent inquiry; ſo we beg leave to repreſent 'to you, from what cauſes, and by what ſteps, 'this immenſe charge appears to have grown up- 'on us.

'The ſervice at ſea, as it has been very large 'and extenſive in itſelf, ſo it has been carried 'on, through the whole courſe of the war, in a

'manner highly diſadvantageous to your majeſty
'and your kingdom: for the neceſſity of affairs
'requiring that great fleets ſhould be fitted out
'every year, as well for the maintaining a ſupe-
'riority in the Mediterranean, as for oppoſing
'any for which the enemy might prepare, either
'at Dunkirk, or in the ports of Weſt France,
'your majeſty's example and readineſs in fitting
'out your proportion of ſhips, for all parts of
'that ſervice, have been ſo far from prevailing
'with the ſtates general to keep pace with you,
'that they have been deficient every year to a
'great degree, in proportion to what your ma-
'jeſty hath furniſhed; ſometimes no leſs than
'two thirds, and generally more than half of
'their quota: from hence your majeſty has
'been obliged, for the preventing diſappoint-
'ments in the moſt preſſing ſervice, to ſupply
'thoſe deficiencies by additional reinforcements
'of your own ſhips; nor hath the ſingle increaſe
'of ſuch a charge been the only ill conſequence
'attending it; for by this means the debt of the
'navy hath been inhanced, ſo that the diſcounts
'ariſing upon the credit of it have affected all o-
'ther parts of the ſervice, from the ſame cauſe.
'Your majeſty's ſhips of war have been forced in
'greater numbers to continue in remote ſeas, and

'at unſeaſonable times of the year, to the great 'damage and decay of the Britiſh navy. This 'alſo hath been the occaſion that your majeſty 'hath been ſtreightened in your convoys for 'trade; your coaſts have been expoſed, for want 'of a ſufficient number of cruizers to guard them; 'and you have been diſabled from annoying the 'enemy, in their moſt beneficial commerce with 'the Weſt Indies, from whence they received 'thoſe vaſt ſupplies of treaſure, without which 'they could not have ſupported the expences of 'this war.

'That part of the war which hath been carri-'ed on in Flanders, was at firſt immediately 'neceſſary to the ſecurity of the ſtates general, 'and hath ſince brought them great acquiſitions, 'both of revenue and dominion, yet even there 'the original proportions have been departed 'from, and, during the courſe of the war, have 'been ſinking by degrees on the part of Holland; 'ſo that in this laſt year, we find the number in 'which they fell ſhort of their three fifths, to your 'majeſty's two fifths, have been twenty thouſand 'eight hundred and thirty-ſeven men: we are not 'unmindful, that in the year 1703, a treaty was 'made between the two nations, for a joint aug-'mentation of twenty thouſand men, wherein the

'proportions were varied, and England conſented 'to take half upon itſelf. But it having been 'annexed as an expreſs condition to the grant of 'the ſaid augmentation in parliament, that the 'ſtates general ſhould prohibit all trade and com-'merce with France, and that condition having 'not been performed by them, the commons 'think it reaſonable, that the firſt rule of three 'to two ought to have taken place again, as well 'in that as in other ſubſequent augmentations, 'more eſpecially when they conſider, that the 'revenues of thoſe rich provinces which have 'been conquered, would, if they were duly ap-'plied, maintain a great number of new additi-'nal forces againſt the common enemy; notwith-'ſtanding which, the ſtates-general have raiſed 'none upon that account, but make uſe of thoſe 'freſh ſupplies of money, only to eaſe themſelves 'in the charge of their firſt eſtabliſhed qnota.

'As in the progreſs of the war in Flanders, a 'diſproportion was ſoon created to the prejudice 'of England; ſo the very beginning of the war 'in Portugal, brought an equal ſhare of burden 'upon us; for, although the emperor and the 'ſtates general were equally parties with your 'majeſty in the treaty with the king of Por-'tugal, yet the emperor neither furniſhing his

'third part of the troops and ſubſidies ſtipulated 'for, nor the Dutch conſenting to take an equal 'ſhare of his imperial majeſty's defect upon them-'ſelves, your majeſty hath been obliged to furniſh 'two thirds of the entire expence created by that 'ſervice. Nor has the inequality ſtopped there; 'for ever ſince the year 1706, when the Engliſh 'and Dutch forces marched out of Portugal into 'Caſtile, the ſtates general have intirely abandon-'ed the war in Portugal, and left your majeſty 'to proſecute it ſingly at your own charge, which 'you have accordingly done, by replacing a great-'er number of troops there, than even at firſt 'you took upon you to provide. At the ſame 'time your majeſty's generous endeavours for the 'ſupport and defence of the king of Portugal, 'have been but ill ſeconded by that prince him-'ſelf; for notwithſtanding that by this treaty 'he had obliged himſelf to furniſh twelve thou-'ſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, upon his 'own account, beſides eleven thouſand foot, and 'two thouſand horſe more, in conſideration of a 'ſubſidy paid him; yet, according to the beſt 'information your commons can procure, it ap-'pears, that he hath ſcarce, at any time, furniſh-'ed thirteen thouſand men in the whole.

'In Spain the war hath been yet more une-

'equal, and burdenſome to your majeſty, than 'in any other branch of it; for being commenc- 'ed without any treaty whatſoever, the allies 'have almoſt wholly declined taking any part of 'it upon themſelves. A ſmall body of Engliſh 'and Dutch troops were ſent thither in the year '1705, not as being thought ſufficient to ſup- 'port a regular war, or to make the conqueſt of 'ſo large a country; but with a view only of 'aſſiſting the Spaniards to ſet king Charles upon 'the throne; occaſioned by the great aſſurances 'which were given of their inclinations to the 'houſe of Auſtria: but this expectation failing, 'England was inſenſibly drawn into an eſtabliſh- 'ed war, under all the diſadvantages of the di- 'ſtance of the place, and the feeble efforts of the 'other allies. The account we have to lay before 'your majeſty, upon this head, is, that although 'the undertaking was entered upon at the parti- 'cular and earneſt requeſt of the imperial court, 'and for a cauſe of no leſs importance and con- 'cern to them, than the reducing the Spaniſh 'monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria; yet neither 'the late emperors, nor his preſent imperial ma- 'jeſty, have ever had any forces there on their 'account, till the laſt year; and then, only one 'regiment of foot, conſiſting of two thouſand

'men. Though the ſtates-general have contri-
'buted ſomething more to this ſervice, yet their
'ſhare alſo hath been inconſiderable; for in the
'ſpace of four years, from 1705, to 1708, both
'incluſive, all the forces they have ſent into that
'country have not exceeded twelve thouſand
'two hundred men; and from the year 1708 to
'this time, they have not ſent any forces or re-
'cruits whatſoever. To your majeſty's care and
'charge, the recovery of that kingdom hath been
'in a manner wholly left, as if none elſe were
'intereſted or concerned in it. And the forces
'which your majeſty hath ſent into Spain, in the
'ſpace of ſeven years, from 1705, to 1711, both
'incluſive, have amounted to no leſs than fifty-
'ſeven thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-three
'men, beſides thirteen battalions and eight ſqua-
'drons, for which your majeſty hath paid a ſub-
'ſidy to the emperor.

'How great the eſtabliſhed expence of a num-
'ber of men hath been, your majeſty very well
'knows, and your commons very ſenſibly feel;
'but the weight will be found much greater,
'when it is conſidered how many heavy articles
'of unuſual and extraordinary charge have
'attended this remote and difficult ſervice, all
'which have been entirely defrayed by your ma-

'jeſty, except that one of tranſporting the few 'forces, which were ſent by the ſtates-general, 'and the victualling of them, during their tranſ-'portation only. The accounts delivered to your 'commons ſhew, that the charge of your ma-'jeſty's ſhips and veſſels, employed in the ſervice 'of the war in Spain and Portugal, reckoned af-'ter the rate of four pounds *per* month, from 'the time they ſailed from hence, till they return-'ed, were loſt, or put upon other ſervices, hath 'amounted to ſix millions five hundred forty 'thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds 'fourteen ſhillings: the charge of tranſports on 'the part of Great Britain, for carrying on the 'war in Spain and Portugal, from the beginning 'of it till this time, hath amounted to one milli-'on three hundred thirty-ſix thouſand ſeven hun-'dred and nineteen pounds nineteen ſhillings and 'eleven pence; that of victualling land-forces 'for the ſame ſervice, to five hundred eighty-'three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy 'pounds eight ſhillings and ſix pence; and that 'of contingencies, and other extraordinaries for 'the ſame ſervice, to one million eight hundred 'forty thouſand three hundred and fifty-three 'pounds.

'We ſhould take notice to your majeſty of ſe-'veral ſums paid upon account of contingencies,

'and extraordinaries in Flanders, making toge-
'ther the ſum of one million one hundred ſeven
'thouſand and ninety-ſix pounds: but we are
'not able to make any compariſon of them, with
'what the ſtates general have expended upon the
'ſame head, having no ſuch ſtate of their extraor-
'dinary charge before us. There remains there-
'fore but one particular more for your majeſty's
'obſervation, which ariſes from the ſubſidies
'paid to foreign princes. Theſe, at the begin-
'ing of the war, were born in equal proportion
'by your majeſty, and the ſtates-general; but in
'this inſtance alſo, the balance hath been caſt
'in prejudice of your majeſty: for it appears
'that your majeſty hath ſince advanced more
'than your equal proportion, three millions
'one hundred and fifty five thouſand crowns,
'beſides extraordinaries paid in Italy, and not
'included in any of the foregoing articles, which
'ariſe to five hundred thirty-nine thouſand five
'hundred and fifty three pounds.

'We have laid theſe ſeveral particulars before
'your majeſty in the ſhorteſt manner we have
'been able; and by an eſtimate grounded on the
'preceding facts, it doth appear, that over and
'above the quotas on the part of Great Britain,
'anſwering to theſe contributed by your allies,

'more than nineteen millions have been expend-
'ed by your majeſty, during the courſe of this
'war, by way of ſurpluſage, or exceeding in
'balance, of which none of the confederates
'have furniſhed any thing whatſoever.

'It is with very great concern, that we find ſo
'much occaſion given us, to repreſent how ill
'an uſe hath been made of your majeſty's and
'your ſubjects zeal for the common cauſe; that
'the intereſt of that cauſe hath not been propor-
'tionably promoted by it, but others only have
'been eaſed at your majeſty's and your ſubjects
'coſt, and have been connived at, in laying their
'part of the burden upon this kingdom, and al-
'though they have upon all accounts been equal-
'ly, and in moſt reſpects, much more nearly con-
'cerned than Britain in the iſſue of the war. We
'are perſuaded your majeſty will think it pardon-
'able in us, with ſome reſentment to complain
'of the little regard, which ſome of thoſe, whom
'your majeſty of late years intruſted, have
'ſhewn to the intereſts of their country, in giv-
'ing way, at leaſt, to ſuch unreaſonable impo-
'ſitions upon it, if not in ſome meaſure con-
'triving them. The courſe of which impoſitions
'hath been ſo ſingular and extraordinary, that
'the more the wealth of this nation hath been ex-
'hauſted, and the more your majeſty's arms have

'been attended with ſucceſs, the heavier hath
'been the burden laid upon us; whilſt, on the
'other hand, the more vigorous your majeſty's
'efforts have been, and the greater the advan-
'tages which have redounded thence to your al-
'lies, the more theſe allies have abated in their
'ſhare of the expence.

'At the firſt entrance into this war, the com-
'mons were induced to exert themſelves in the
'extraordinary manner they did, and to grant
'ſuch large ſupplies, as had been unknown to
'former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the
'miſchiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that,
'in which they were neceſſarily engaged, to a
'ſpeedy concluſion; but they have been very
'unhappy in the event, whilſt they have ſo much
'reaſon to ſuſpect, that what was intended to
'ſhorten the war, hath proved the very cauſe of
'its long continuance; for thoſe, to whom the
'profits of it have accrued, have not been diſ-
'poſed eaſily to forego them. And your ma-
'jeſty will from thence diſcern *the true reaſon,*
'*why ſo many have delighted in a war, which*
'*brought in ſo rich an harveſt yearly from Great*
'*Britain.*

'We are far from deſiring, as we know your
'majeſty will be from concluding any peace, but

'upon ſafe and honourable terms; and we are 'far from intending to excuſe ourſelves from 'raiſing all neceſſary and poſſible ſupplies, for an 'effectual proſecution of the war, till ſuch a 'peace can be obtained: all that your faithful 'commons aim at, all that they wiſh, is an equal 'concurrence from the other powers, engaged 'in alliance with your majeſty; and a juſt appli-'cation of what hath been already gained from 'the enemy, towards promoting the common 'cauſe. Several large countries and territories 'have been reſtored to the houſe of Auſtria, ſuch 'as the kingdom of Naples, the dutchy of Milan, 'and other places in Italy; others have been 'conquered, and added to their dominions, as 'the two electorates of Bavaria and Cologn, the 'dutchy of Mantua, and biſhopric of Liege; 'theſe having been reduced in great meaſure by 'our blood and treaſure, may, we humbly con-'ceive, with great reaſon, be claimed to come 'in aid towards carrying on the war in Spain. 'And therefore we make it our earneſt requeſt 'to your majeſty, that you will give inſtructi-'ons to your miniſters, to inſiſt with the empe-'ror, that the revenues of thoſe ſeveral places, 'excepting only ſuch a portion thereof as is ne-'ceſſary for their defence, be actually ſo applied:

'and as to the other parts of the war, to which 'your majeſty hath obliged yourſelf by particu- 'lar treaties to contribute, we humbly beſeech 'your majeſty, that you will be pleaſed to take 'effectual care, that your allies do perform their 'parts ſtipulated by thoſe treaties; and that your 'majeſty will, for the future, no otherwiſe fur- 'niſh troops, or pay ſubſidies, than in proporti- 'on to what your allies ſhall furniſh and pay: 'when this juſtice is done to your majeſty, 'and to your people, there is nothing which 'your commons will not chearfully grant, to- 'wards ſupporting your majeſty in the cauſe 'in which you are engaged. And whatever far- 'ther ſhall appear to be neceſſary for carrying on 'the war, either at ſea or land, we will effectu- 'ally enable your majeſty to bear your reaſon- 'able ſhare of any ſuch expence, and will ſpare 'no ſupplies which your ſubjects are able, with 'their utmoſt efforts, to afford.

'After having enquired into, and conſidered 'the ſtate of the war, in which the part your 'majeſty has borne, appears to have been, not 'only ſuperior to that of any one ally, but 'even equal to that of the whole confederacy; 'your commons naturally inclined to hope, that 'they ſhould find care had been taken of ſecur-

'ing ſome particular advantages to Britain, in the 'terms of a future peace; ſuch as might afford a 'proſpect of making the nation amends, in time, 'for that immenſe treaſure which has been ex-'pended, and thoſe heavy debts which have been 'contracted, in the courſe of ſo long and burden-'ſome a war. This reaſonable expectation could 'no way have been better anſwered, than by 'ſome proviſion made for the further ſecurity, and 'the great improvement of the commerce of Great 'Britain; but we find ourſelves ſo very far diſap-'pointed in theſe hopes, that in a treaty not long 'ſince concluded between your majeſty and the 'ſtates-general, under a colour of mutual gua-'rantee, given for two points of the greateſt im-'portance to both nations, the ſucceſſion and 'the barrier; it appears the intereſt of Great 'Britain hath been not only neglected, but ſa-'crificed; and that ſeveral articles in the ſaid 'treaty, are deſtructive to the trade and welfare 'of this kingdom, and therefore highly diſho-'nourable to your majeſty.

'Your commons obſerve, in the firſt place, 'that ſeveral towns and places are, by virtue 'of this treaty, to be put into the hands of 'the ſtates-general, particularly Newport, 'Dendermond, and the caſtle of Ghent,

'which can in no ſenſe be looked upon as a part 'of a barrier againſt France, but being the 'keys of the Netherlands towards Britain, muſt 'make the trade of your majeſty's ſubjects in 'thoſe parts precarious, and whenever the ſtates 'think fit, totally exclude them from it. The 'pretended neceſſity of putting theſe places into 'the hands of the ſtates-general, in order to ſe-'cure to them a communication with their bar-'rier, muſt appear vain and groundleſs; for the 'ſovereignty of the Low Countries being not to 'remain to an enemy, but to a friend and an 'ally, that communication muſt be always ſecure 'and uninterrupted; beſides that, in caſe of a 'rupture, or an attack, the ſtates have full liber-'ty allowed them to take poſſeſſion of all the Spa-'niſh Netherlands, and therefore needed no par-'ticular ſtipulation for the towns above menti-'oned.

'Having taken notice of this conceſſion made 'to the ſtates-general, for ſeizing upon the whole 'ten provinces; we cannot but obſerve to your 'majeſty, that in the manner this article is fram-'ed, it is another dangerous circumſtance which 'attends this treaty; for had ſuch a proviſion 'been confined to the care of an apparent attack 'from France only, the avowed deſign of this

'treaty had been fulfilled, and your majeſty's in-
'ſtructions to your ambaſſador had been purſu-
'ed: but this neceſſary reſtriction hath been o-
'mitted, and the ſame liberty is granted to the
'ſtates, to take poſſeſſion of all the Netherlands,
'whenever they ſhall think themſelves attacked
'by any other neighbouring nation, as when they
'ſhall be in danger from France; ſo that if it
'ſhould happen (which your commons are very
'unwilling to ſuppoſe) that they ſhould quarrel,
'even with your majeſty, the riches, ſtrength,
'and advantageous ſituation of theſe countries,
'may be made uſe of againſt yourſelf, without
'whoſe generous and powerful aſſiſtance they
'had never been conquered.

'To return to thoſe ill conſequences which re-
'late to the trade of your kingdoms, we beg leave
'to obſerve to your majeſty, that though this
'treaty revives, and renders your majeſty a party
'to the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the
'treaty of Munſter, by virtue of which, the im-
'poſitions upon all goods and merchandizes
'brought into the Spaniſh Low-countries by the
'ſea, are to equal thoſe laid on goods and mer-
'chandizes imported by the Scheld, and the ca-
'nals of Saſs and Swyun, and other mouths of
'the ſea adjoining; yet no care is taken to pre-

'ſerve that equality upon the exportation of 'thoſe goods out of the Spaniſh provinces, into 'thoſe countries and places, which, by virtue of 'this treaty, are to be in poſſeſſion of the ſtates; 'the conſequence of which muſt in time be, 'and your commons are informed, that in ſome 'inſtances it has already proved to be the caſe, 'that the impoſitions upon goods carried into 'thoſe countries and places, by the ſubjects of 'the ſtates-general, will be taken off, while thoſe 'upon the goods imported by your majeſty's ſub-'jects remain: by which means, Great Britain will 'entirely loſe this moſt beneficial branch of trade, 'which it has in all ages been poſſeſſed of, even 'from the time when thoſe countries were go-'verned by the houſe of Burgundy, one of the 'moſt antient, as well as the moſt uſeful allies 'to the crown of England.

'With regard to the other dominions and ter-'ritories of Spain, your majeſty's ſubjects have 'always been diſtinguiſhed in their commerce 'with them, and both by antient treaties, and 'an uninterrupted cuſtom, have enjoyed greater 'privileges and immunities of trade, than either 'the Hollanders, or any other nation whatſoever. 'And that wiſe and excellent treaty of the grand 'alliance, provides effectually for the ſecurity

'and continuance of theſe valuable privileges to 'Britain, in ſuch a manner, as that each nation 'might be left, at the end of the war, upon the 'ſame foot as it ſtood at the commencement of 'it: but this treaty we have now complained of, 'inſtead of confirming your ſubjects rights, ſur-'renders and deſtroys them; for, although by 'the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth articles of the 'treaty of Munſter, made between his catholic 'majeſty and the ſtates-general, all advantages 'of trade are ſtipulated for, and granted to the 'Hollanders, equal to what the Engliſh enjoyed; 'yet the crown of England not being a party to 'that treaty, the ſubjects of England have never 'ſubmitted to thoſe articles of it, nor even the 'Spaniards themſelves ever obſerved them; but 'this treaty revives thoſe articles in prejudice 'of Great Britain, and makes your majeſty a par-'ty to them, and even a guarantee to the ſtates-'general, for privileges againſt your own peo-'ple.

'In how deliberate and extraordinary a man-'ner your majeſty's ambaſſador conſented to de-'prive your ſubjects of their antient rights, and 'your majeſty of the power of procuring of them 'any new advantage, moſt evidently appears from 'his own letters, which by your majeſty's direc-

'tions, have been laid before your commons:
'for when matters of advantage to your majeſty,
'and to your kingdom, had been offered, as
'proper to be made parts of this treaty, they
'were refuſed to be admitted by the ſtates-ge-
'neral, upon this reaſon and principle, that no-
'thing foreign to the guaranties of the ſucceſſi-
'on, and the barrier, ſhould be mingled with
'them; notwithſtanding which the ſtates-gene-
'ral had no ſooner received notice of a treaty
'of commerce concluded between your majeſty
'and the preſent emperor, but they departed
'from the rule propoſed before, and inſiſted up-
'on the article of which your commons now
'complain; which article your majeſty's ambaſ-
'ſador allowed of, although equally foreign to
'the ſucceſſion, or the barrier; and although
'he had for that reaſon departed from other ar-
'ticles, which would have been for the ſervice
'of his own country.

'We have forborne to trouble your majeſty
'with general obſervations upon this treaty, as
'it relates to and affects the empire, and other
'parts of Europe. The miſchiefs which ariſe
'from it to Great Britain, are what only we have
'preſumed humbly to repreſent to you, as they
'are very evident, and very great; and, as it ap-

'pears, that the lord viſcount Townſend had not 'any orders, or authority, for concluding ſeve-'ral of thoſe articles, which are moſt prejudicial 'to your majeſty's ſubjects; we have thought 'we could do no leſs than declare your ſaid am-'baſſador, who negociated and ſigned, and all 'others who adviſed the ratifying of this treaty, 'enemies to your majeſty and your kingdom.

'Upon theſe faithful informations, and advices 'from your commons, we aſſure ourſelves your 'majeſty, in your great goodneſs to your people, 'will reſcue them from thoſe evils, which the 'private councils of ill deſigning men have expoſ-'ed them to; and that in your great wiſdom you 'will find ſome means for the explaining and 'amending the ſeveral articles of this treaty, ſo 'as that they may conſiſt with the intereſt of 'Great Britain, and with real and laſting friend-'ſhip between your majeſty and the ſtates-'general.'

Between the repreſentation and the firſt debates upon the ſubject of it, ſeveral weeks had paſſed; during which time the parliament had other matters likewiſe before them, that deſerve to be mentioned. For, on the ninth of February was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign

proteſtants, which had been paſſed under the laſt miniſtry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purpoſes. By this act any foreigner, who would take the oaths to the government, and profeſs himſelf a proteſtant, of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an Engliſh-born ſubject, at the expence of a ſhilling. Moſt proteſtants abroad differ from us in the points of church-government; ſo that all the acquiſitions by this act would increaſe the number of diſſenters; and therefore the propoſal, that ſuch foreigners ſhould be obliged to conform to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, was rejected. But becauſe ſeveral perſons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I ſhall ſay a few words upon it.

The maxim, 'That people are the riches of 'a nation,' hath been crudely underſtood by many writers and reaſoners upon that ſubject. There are ſeveral ways by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded and ſubdued; and the conquerors ſeize the lands, and make the natives their undertenants or ſervants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or deſtroyed, or the land uncultivated and waſte. In

thoſe countries where the lord of the ſoil is maſter of the labour and liberty of his tenants, or of ſlaves bought by his money, mens riches are reckoned by the number of their vaſſals. And ſometimes, in governments newly inſtituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from neighbouring countries. And, in all theſe caſes, the new comers have either lands allotted them, or are ſlaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpleſs families, by thouſands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they ſhould be part of the property as ſervants, is a wrong application of the maxim, and the ſame thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burden and charge to the pariſh. The true way of multiplying mankind to public advantage, in ſuch a country as England, is to invite from abroad only able handicraftſmen and antificers, or ſuch who bring over a ſufficient ſhare of property to ſecure them from want; to enact and enforce ſumptuary laws againſt luxury, and all exceſſes in cloathing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony, and reward, as the Romans did, thoſe who have a certain number of children. Whe-

ther bringing over the Palatines were a mere conſequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as many ſurmiſed, it had ſome other meaning, it appeared manifeſtly, by the iſſue, that the public was a loſer by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by ſuch an importation, than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unſightly and troubleſome at beſt, and intercepts that nouriſhment, which would otherwiſe diffuſe itſelf through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the commons ſet up a bill for ſcouring the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that houſe, who ſhould be allowed to poſſeſs employments under the crown. Bills to the ſame effect, promoted by two parties, had, after making the like progreſs, been rejected in former parliaments; the court and miniſtry, who will ever be againſt ſuch a law, having uſually a greater influence in the houſe of lords, and ſo it happened now. Although that influence were leſs, I am apt to think that ſuch a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have ſo many corruptions in the reſt; and perhaps the regulations, already made on that article, are ſufficient, by which ſeveral employments incapacitate a man

from being choſen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I conſider the temper of particular perſons, and by what maxims they have acted (almoſt without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how ſuch a bill ſhould obtain ſuch a majority, unleſs every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the ſame time, likewiſe, the houſe of commons advanced one conſiderable ſtep towards ſecuring us againſt farther impoſitions from our allies, reſolving that the additional forces ſhould be continued; but with a condition, that the Dutch ſhould make good their proportion of three fifths to two fifths, which thoſe confederates had ſo long, and in ſo great degree, neglected. The duke of Marlborough's deduction of two and a half *per cent.* from the pay of the foreign troops, was alſo applied for carrying on the war.

Laſtly, within this period is to be included the act paſſed to prevent the diſturbing thoſe of the epiſcopal communion in Scotland in the exerciſe of their religious worſhip, and in the uſe of the liturgy of the church of England. It is known enough, that the moſt conſiderable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of

the people, dread the tyrannical diſcipline of thoſe ſynods and preſbyteries; and at the ſame time have the utmoſt contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was beſides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reaſon or juſtice, that diſſenters of every denomination here, who are the meaneſt and moſt illiterate part amongſt us, ſhould poſſeſs a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occaſion, be bold enough to inſult the religion eſtabliſhed, while thoſe of the epiſcopal church in Scotland groaned under a real perſecution. The only ſpecious objection againſt this bill was, that it ſet the religion by law, in both parts of the iſland, upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; becauſe, by an act paſſed this very ſeſſion againſt occaſional conformity, our diſſenters were ſhut out from all employments. A petition from Carſtairs, and other Scotch profeſſors, againſt this bill, was offered to the houſe, but not accepted: and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clauſe that ſhould reſtrain all perſons, who have any office in Scotland, from going to epiſcopal meetings, paſſed in the negative. It is manifeſt, that the promoters of this clauſe were not moved by any regard for Scotland, which is by no means their favourite at pre-

ſent; only they hoped, that, if it were made part of a law, it might occaſion ſuch a choice of repreſentatives in both houſes, from Scotland, as would be a conſiderable ſtrength to their faction here. But the propoſition was in itſelf extremely abſurd, that ſo many lords, and other perſons of diſtinction, who have great employments, penſions, poſts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or conſtant attendance at court, and utterly diſlike their national way of worſhip, ſhould be deprived of their liberty of conſcience at home; not to mention thoſe who are ſent thither from hence to take care of the revenue, and other affairs, who would ill digeſt the changing of their religion for that of Scotland.

With a further view of favour towards the epiſcopal clergy of Scotland, three members of that country were directed to bring in a bill for reſtoring the patrons to their antient rights of preſenting miniſters to the vacant churches there, which the kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained themſelves. And, to conclude this ſubject at once, the queen at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, commanded Mr. Secretary St. John to acquaint the houſe, 'That, purſuant to their addreſs, the profits ariſing from the biſhops eſtates

'in Scotland, which remained in the crown, 'ſhould be applied to the ſupport of ſuch of the 'epiſcopal clergy there, as would take the oaths 'to her majeſty.'

Nothing could more amply juſtify the proceedings of the queen and her miniſters, for two years paſt, than that famous repreſentation above at large recited; the unbiaſſed wiſdom of the nation, after the ſtricteſt inquiry, confirming thoſe facts upon which her majeſty's counſels were grounded: and many perſons, who were before inclined to believe, that the allies and the late miniſtry had been too much loaded by the malice, miſrepreſentations, or ignorance, of writers, were now fully convinced of their miſtake by ſo great an authority. Upon this occaſion I cannot forbear doing juſtice to Mr St. John, who had been ſecretary at war, for ſeveral years, under the former adminiſtration, where he had the advantage of obſerving how affairs were managed both at home aud abroad. He was one of thoſe who ſhared in the preſent treaſurer's fortune, reſigning his employment at the ſame time; and upon that miniſter's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was ſome time after made ſecretary of ſtate. There he began afreſh, by the opportunities of his ſtation, to look into paſt miſ-

carriages; and by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to public affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the ſcene of miſcarriages and corruptions through the whole courſe of the war, in ſo evident a manner, that the houſe of commons ſeemed principally directed in their reſolutions, upon the inquiry, by his information and advice. In a ſhort time after the repreſentation was publiſhed, there appeared a memorial in the Dutch gazette, as by order of the ſtates, reflecting very much upon the ſaid repreſentation, as well as the reſolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny ſome of the facts, and to extenuate others. This memorial, tranſlated into Engliſh, a common writer of news had the boldneſs to inſert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the houſe of commons, they voted the pretended memorial to be a falſe, ſcandalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into cuſtody.

It was the misfortune of the miniſters, that while they were baited by their profeſſed adverſaries of the diſcontented faction, acting in confederacy with emiſſaries of foreign powers, to break the meaſures her majeſty had taken towards a peace, they met at the ſame time with frequent difficulties from thoſe who engaged

with them to purſue the ſame general end; but ſometimes diſapproved the methods as too ſlack and remiſs, or, in appearance, now and then a little dubious, In the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, a conſiderable number of gentlemen, all members of the houſe of commons, began to meet by themſelves, and conſult what courſe they ought to ſteer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country-party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppoſe the court in any proceedings they diſliked. The whole body was of ſuch who profeſs what is commonly called high-church principles, upon which account they were irreconcileable enemies to the late miniſtry, and all its adherents. On the other ſide, conſidering the temper of the new men in power, that they were perſons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, thoſe gentlemen, who were impatient for an intire change, and to ſee all their adverſaries laid at once as low as the duſt, began to be apprehenſive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the leaſt precipitation, although the queen and her firſt miniſter had been diſpoſed to it, which certainly they were not. Neither did the court ſeem at

all uneaſy at this league, formed in appearance againſt it, but compoſed of honeſt gentlemen who wiſhed well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means; or if ſuch a ſociety ſhould begin to grow reſty, nothing was eaſier than to divide them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.

But in the courſe of that firſt ſeſſion, many of this ſociety became gradually reconciled to the new miniſtry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themſelves; and the attempt of Guiſcard, as it gained farther time for the deferring the diſpoſal of employments, ſo it much endeared that perſon to the kingdom, who was ſo near falling a ſacrifice to the ſafety of his country. Upon the laſt ſeſſion of which I am now writing, this October club (as it was called) renewed their uſual meetings, but were now very much altered from their original inſtitution, and ſeemed to have wholly dropped the deſign, as of no farther uſe. They ſaw a point carried in the houſe of lords againſt the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they obſerved the enemy's whole artillery directly levelled at the treaſurer's head. In ſhort, the majority of the club had ſo good an

underſtanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter, to ſhew to the world how fair a correſpondence there was between the court and country-party, conſented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourſe had an event very different from what was expected: for immediately the more zealous members of that ſociety broke off from the reſt, and compoſed a new one, made up of gentlemen, who ſeemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps, with a mixture of others who thought themſelves diſappointed, or too long delayed. Many of theſe were obſerved to retain an incurable jealouſy of the treaſurer, and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reſerve of favour in this miniſter to the perſons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occaſion offered about this time, ſome perſons, out of diſtruſt to the treaſurer, endeavoured to obtain a point, which could not have been carried without putting all into confuſion. A bill was brought into the houſe of commons, appointing commiſſioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other intereſts granted by the crown ſince the thirteenth day of February, 1688, and upon what conſiderations ſuch grants had been made. The united country-intereſt in

the houſe was extremely ſet upon paſſing this bill. They had conceived an opinion from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppoſe all ſteps towards a reſumption of grants; and thoſe, who were apprehenſive that the treaſurer inclined the ſame way, propoſed the bill ſhould be tacked to another, for raiſing a fund by duties upon ſoap and paper, which hath been always imputed, whether juſtly or no, as a favourite expedient of thoſe called the tory party. At the ſame time it was very well known, that the houſe of lords had made a fixed and unanimous reſolution againſt giving their concurrence to the paſſing ſuch united bills: ſo that the conſequences of this project muſt have been to bring the miniſtry under difficulties, to ſtop the neceſſary ſupplies, and endanger the good correſpondence between both houſes; notwithſtanding all which the majority carried it for a tack; and the committee was inſtructed accordingly to make the two bills into one, whereby the worſt that could happen would have followed, if the treaſurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reaſons, that the means they were uſing would certainly diſappoint the end; that neither himſelf, nor any other of the queen's ſervants, were at all againſt this enquiry; and he

promiſed his utmoſt credit to help forward the bill in the houſe of lords. He prevailed at laſt to have it ſent up ſingle; but their lordſhips gave it another kind of reception. Thoſe, who were of the ſide oppoſite to the court, withſtood it to a man, as in a party cauſe: among the reſt, ſome very perſonally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they ſuppoſed a ſufficient excuſe to be abſent, or diſſent. Even thoſe, whoſe grants were antecedent to this intended inſpection, began to be alarmed as men whoſe neighbours houſes are on fire. A ſhew of zeal for the late king's honour occaſioned many reflections upon the date of this enquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the earl of Nottingham, who had now flung away the maſk which he lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance againſt the queen and her friends, acted conſiſtently enough with his deſign, by voting as a lord againſt the bill, after he had directed his ſon in the houſe of commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miſcarried this poor bill for appointing commiſſioners to examine into the royal grants; but whether thoſe chiefly concerned did rightly conſult their own intereſt, hath been made a queſtion, which perhaps time will reſolve. It

was agreed that the queen, by her own authority, might have iſſued out a commiſſion for ſuch an enquiry, and every body believed, that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years purchaſe, and at the ſame time eſtabliſh the proprietors in poſſeſſion of the remainder for ever; ſo that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by ſuch an act, ſince the titles of thoſe lands, as they ſtood then, were hardly of half value with others either for ſale or ſettlement. Beſides, the examples of the Iriſh forfeitures might have taught theſe precarious owners, that when the houſe of commons hath once engaged in a purſuit, which they think is right, although it be ſtopped or ſuſpended for a while, they will be ſure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and ſeldom fail of ſucceſs: for inſtance, if the reſumption ſhould happen to be made part of a ſupply, which can be eaſily done without the objection of a tack, the grantees might poſſibly then have much harder conditions given them; and I do not ſee how they could prevent it. Whether the reſuming of royal grants be conſiſtent with good policy or juſtice, would be too long a diſquiſition: beſides, the profuſion of kings is not like to be a grievance for the future, becauſe

there have been laws ſince made to provide againſt that evil, or, indeed, rather becauſe the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made againſt the date of the intended enquiry was invidious and trifling; for king James II. made very few grants: he was a better manager, and ſquandering was none of his faults; whereas the late king, who came over here a perfect ſtranger to our laws, and our people, regardleſs of poſterity, wherein he was not likely to ſurvive, thought he could no way better ſtrengthen a new title, than by purchaſing new friends at the expence of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reaſonableneſs of uniting to a money bill one of a different nature, which is uſually called a tacking, hath been likewiſe much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In antient times, when a parliament was held, the commons firſt propoſed their grievances to be redreſſed, and then gave their aids; ſo that it was a perfect bargain between the king and the ſubject. This fully anſwered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occaſions which would hardly paſs at preſent; ſuch, for inſtance, as thoſe for making the king's ſon a knight, marrying his eldeſt daughter, and ſome others of the like ſort.

Moſt of the money went into the king's coffers for his private uſe; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence aroſe the form of the king's thanking his ſubjects for their benevolence, when any ſubſidies, tenths, or fifteenths were given him: but the ſupplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, becauſe they are all appropriated to their ſeveral uſes: ſo that when the houſe of commons tack to a money-bill what is foreign and hard to be digeſted, if it be not paſſed, they put themſelves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other ſide, there have been ſeveral regulations made through the courſe of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected ſhall not be brought up again the ſame ſeſſion; whereby the commons ſeem to have loſt the advantage of purchaſing a redreſs of their grievances, by granting ſupplies, which, upon ſome emergencies, hath put them upon this expedient of tacking: ſo that there is more to be ſaid on each ſide of the caſe, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myſelf in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this ſeſſion, we may juſtly number the proceedings

in the houſe of commons with relation to the preſs, ſince her majeſty's to the houſe, of January the ſeventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, repreſenting the great licences taken in publiſhing falſe and ſcandalous libels, ſuch as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the miſchief. The meaning of theſe words in the meſſage, ſeems to be confined to theſe weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the perſons and the management of the miniſtry. But the houſe of commons, in their addreſs, which anſwers this meſſage, makes an addition of the blaſphemies againſt God and religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the honour of the legiſlature, than ſome effectual law for putting a ſtop to this univerſal miſchief: but as the perſon *, who adviſed the queen in that part of her meſſage, had only then in his thoughts the redreſſing the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the houſe, to have propoſed ſome ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing ſingle papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreſeen by many

* Mr. Secretary St. John, now lord viſcount Bolingbroke.

perſons, and hath ſince been found true by experience. For the adverſe party, full of rage and leiſure ſince their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cauſe, employ a ſet of writers by ſubſcription, who are well verſed in all the topics of defamation, and have a ſtile and genius levelled to the generality of readers; while thoſe who would draw their pens on the ſide of their prince and country, are diſcouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinſic value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not miſtaken, without example.

It muſt be acknowleged, that the bad practices of printers have been ſuch, as to deſerve the ſevereſt animadverſions of the public; and it is to be wiſhed, the party-quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but in the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies and ſhut our own, is a turn of politics that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps the miniſtry now in poſſeſſion may deſpiſe ſuch trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that acting as they do upon a national intereſt, they may ſeem to ſtand in leſs need of ſuch ſupports, or may ſafely fling them down as no longer neceſſary. But if the leaders of the other party had

proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very ſhort duration: and had not ſome active pens fallen in to improve the good diſpoſitions of the people, upon the late change, and continued ſince to overthrow the falſhood, plentifully, and ſometimes not unplauſibly, ſcattered by the adverſaries, I am very much in doubt, whether thoſe at the helm would now have reaſon to be pleaſed with their ſucceſs. A particular perſon may, with more ſafety, deſpiſe the opinion of the vulgar, becauſe it does a wiſe man no real harm or good, but the adminiſtration a great deal; and whatever ſide has the ſole management of the pen, will ſoon find hands enough to write down their enemies as low as they pleaſe. If the people had no other idea of thoſe whom her majeſty truſts in her greateſt affairs, than what is conveyed by the paſſions of ſuch as would compaſs ſea and land for their deſtruction, what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How neceſſary therefore was it, that the world ſhould, from time to time, be undeceived by true repreſentations of perſons and facts, which have kept the kingdom to its intereſt, againſt all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction!

However, the miſchiefs of the preſs were too exorbitant to be cured, by ſuch a remedy, as a tax upon the ſmaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into the houſe of commons, but ſo late in the ſeſſion, that there was no time to paſs it: for there hath hitherto always appeared an unwillingneſs to cramp overmuch the liberty of the preſs, whether from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much or too little; or whether the benefit propoſed by each party to themſelves, from the ſervice of their writers, towards recovering or preſerving of power, be thought to outweigh the diſadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the houſe till the eighth of June. It was committed three days, and then heard of no more. In this bill there was a clauſe inſerted, (whether induſtriouſly with deſign to overthrow it) that the author's name, and place of abode, ſhould be ſet to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; which, I believe, no man, who hath the leaſt regard to learning, would give his conſent to: for, beſides the objection to this clauſe from the practice of pious men, who, in publiſhing excellent writings for the ſervice of religion, have

choſen, out of an humble Chriſtian ſpirit, to conceal their names; it is certain, that all perſons of true genius or knowlege have an invincible modeſty and ſuſpicion of themſelves, upon their firſt ſending their thoughts into the world; and that thoſe who are dull or ſuperficial, void of all taſte and judgment, have diſpoſitions directly contrary: ſo that if this clauſe had made part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future either in wit or learning: and that inſufferable race of ſtupid people, who are now every day loading the preſs, would then reign alone, in time deſtroy our very firſt principles of reaſon, and introduce barbarity amongſt us, which is already kept out with ſo much difficulty by ſo few hands.

Having given an account of the ſeveral ſteps made towards a peace, from the firſt overtures begun by France, to the commencement of the ſecond ſeſſion, I ſhall in the fourth book relate the particulars of this great negociation, from the period laſt-mentioned to the preſent time; and becauſe there happened ſome paſſages in both houſes, occaſioned by the treaty, I ſhall take notice of them under that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another na-

ture, which the lords and commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I ſhall cloſe this part of my ſubject.

The ſect of quakers amongſt us, whoſe ſyſtem of religion, firſt founded upon enthuſiaſm, hath been many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magiſtrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their ſect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all*; but being a body of people, wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themſelves, on many occaſions, deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as voting at elections, by a fooliſh ſcruple, which their obſtinacy would not ſuffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, theſe people had credit enough in the late reign to have an act paſſed, that their ſolemn affirmation and declaration ſhould be accepted, inſtead of an oath in the uſual form. The great concern in thoſe times, was to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, that no man ought to be denied the liberty of ſerving his country upon account of a different belief in ſpeculative opinions, under which term people were apt to include every doctrine of Chriſtianity: however, this act, in favour of the quakers, was only temporary, in

order to keep them in conſtant dependance, and expired of courſe after a certain term, if it were not continued. Thoſe people had, therefore, very early in the ſeſſion, offered a petition to the houſe of commons for a continuance of the act, which was not ſuffered to be brought up; upon this they applied themſelves to the lords, who paſſed a bill accordingly, and ſent it down to the commons, where it was not ſo much as allowed a firſt reading.

And, indeed, it is not eaſy to conceive upon what motives the legiſlature of ſo great a kingdom could deſcend ſo low, as to be miniſterial and ſubſervient to the caprices of the moſt abſurd hereſy that ever appeared in the world; and this in a point, where thoſe deluding or deluded people ſtand ſingular from all the reſt of mankind who live under civil government: but the deſigns of an aſpiring party, at that time, were not otherwiſe to be compaſſed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the church; and I am fully convinced, that if a ſect of ſceptic philoſophers (who profeſs to doubt of every thing) had been amongſt us, and mingled their tenets with ſome corruptions of Chriſtianity, they might have obtained the ſame privilege; and that a law would have been en-

acted, whereby the ſolemn doubt of the people, called ſceptics, ſhould have been accepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form; ſo abſurd are all maxims formed upon the inconſiſtent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the ſtandard of truth and reaſon!

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the allies, and thoſe of the enemy, preparing to aſſemble at Utrecht on the firſt of January, N. S. in order to form a congreſs for negotiating a general peace, wherein although the Dutch had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the queen, yet they ſet all their inſtruments at work to inflame both houſes againſt her majeſty's meaſures. Monſ. Bothmar, the Hanover envoy, took care to print and diſperſe his memorial, of which I have formerly ſpoken: Hoffman, the emperor's reſident, was ſoliciting for a yatcht and convoys

to bring over prince Eugene at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great propoſals from the imperial court; the earl of Nottingham became a convert, for reaſons already mentioned: money was diſtributed where occaſion required; and the duke of Somerſet and Marlborough, together with the earl of Godolphin, had put themſelves at the head of the junto, and their adherents, in order to attack the court.

Some days after, the vote paſſed the houſe of lords for admitting into the addreſs the earl of Nottingham's clauſe, againſt any peace without Spain. Monſ. Buys the Dutch envoy, who had been deep in all the conſultations with the diſcontented party for carrying that point, was deſired to meet with the lord privy-ſeal, the earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Secretary St. John, in order to ſign a treaty between the queen and the ſtates, to ſubſiſt after a peace. There the envoy took occaſion to expoſtulate upon the advantages ſtipulated for Britain and France; ſaid 'it was his 'opinion, that thoſe miniſters ought, in reſpect 'of the friendſhip between both nations, to acquaint him what theſe advantages were; and 'that he looked upon his country to be intitled, 'by treaty, to ſhare them equally with us: that 'there was now another reaſon why we ſhould

'be more diſpoſed to comply with him upon 'this head; for ſince the reſolution of the houſe 'of lords, he took it for granted, it would be a 'dangerous ſtep in us to give Spain to a prince 'of the houſe of Bourbon; and therefore that 'we ſhould do well to induce the ſtates, by ſuch 'a conceſſion, to help us out of this difficulty.'

Mr. St. John made anſwer, 'That there was 'not a man in the queen's council capable of ſo 'baſe a thought: that if Buys had any thing to 'complain of, which was injurious to Holland, 'or juſtly tending to hurt the good correſpon-'dence between us and the ſtates, he was confi-'dent her majeſty would, at all times, be ready 'to give it up; but that the miniſters ſcorned 'to ſcreen themſelves at the expence of their 'country: that the reſolution Buys menti-'oned, was chiefly owing to foreign miniſters 'intermeddling in our affairs, and would per-'haps have an effect the projectors did not 'foreſee: that, if the peace became impracti-'cable, the houſe of commons would certainly 'put the war upon another foot, and reduce 'the public expence within ſuch a compaſs as 'our treaties required in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and 'as our preſent condition would admit, leaving 'the partiſans for war to ſupply the reſt.'

Although the ſecretary believed this anſwer would put an end to ſuch infamous propoſals, it fell out otherwiſe; for ſhortly after, Monſ. Buys applied himſelf to the treaſurer, promiſing to undertake, 'That his maſters ſhould give up the 'article of Spain, provided they might ſhare with 'us in the Aſſiento for negroes.' To which the treaſurer's anſwer was ſhort, 'That he would ra-'ther loſe his head than conſent to ſuch an offer.

It is manifeſt, by this proceeding, that whatever ſchemes were forming here at home, in this juncture, by the enemies to the peace, the Dutch only deſigned to fall in with it, as far as it would anſwer their own account; and, by a ſtrain of the lower politics, wherein they muſt be allowed to excel every country in Chriſtendom, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking the advantage of the diſtreſs they themſelves had brought upon their neareſt neighbour and ally.

But the queen highly reſented this indignity from a republic, upon whom ſhe had conferred ſo many obligations. She could not endure that the Dutch ſhould employ their inſtruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to ſacrifice the ſafety of their prince and country to the recovery of that power

they had ſo long poſſeſſed or abuſed. Her majeſty knew very well, that whatever were the miſtaken or affected opinion of ſome people at home, upon the article Spain, it was a point the ſtates had long given up, who had very openly told our miniſtry, 'That the war in that country was only our concern, and what their republic had 'nothing to do with.' It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced, that the recovery of Spain was impracticable; but many things may be excuſed in a profeſſed adverſary, fallen under diſgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that very inſtant conferring new favours. Her majeſty therefore thought it high time to exert herſelf, and at length put a ſtop to foreign influence upon Britiſh counſels; ſo that after the earl of Nottingham's clauſe againſt any peace, without Spain, was carried in the houſe of lords, directions were immediately ſent to the earl of Strafford at the Hague, to inform the Dutch, 'That it was ob-'tained by a trick, and would conſequently turn 'to the diſappointment and confuſion of the 'contrivers and the actors.' He was likewiſe inſtructed to be very dry and reſerved to the penſionary and Dutch miniſters; to let them know, 'The queen thought herſelf ill treated; and that

'they would ſoon hear what effects thoſe meaſures would have upon a mild and good temper, wrought up to reſentment by repeated provocations: that the ſtates might have the war continued, if they pleaſed; but that the queen would not be forced to carry it on after their manner, nor would ſuffer them to make her peace, or to ſettle the intereſts of her kingdoms.'

To others in Holland, who appeared to be more moderate, the earl was directed to ſay, 'That the ſtates were upon a wrong ſcent: that their miniſter here miſtook every thing that we had promiſed: that we would perform all they could reaſonably aſk from us, in relation to their barrier and their trade; and that Monſ. Buys dealt very unfairly, if he had not told them as much. But that Britain proceeded, in ſome reſpects, upon a new ſcheme of politics; would no longer ſtruggle for impoſſibilities, nor be amuſed by words: that our people came more and more to their ſenſes; and that the ſingle diſpute now was, whether the Dutch would join with a faction, againſt the queen, or with the nation, for her?'

The court likewiſe reſolved to diſcourage prince Eugene from his journey to England, which

he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have ſpoken before. He was told, 'That the 'queen wanted no exhortations to carry on the 'war; but the project of it ſhould be agreed 'abroad, upon which her majeſty's reſolutions 'might ſoon be ſignified: but until ſhe ſaw what 'the emperor and allies were ready to do, ſhe 'would neither promiſe nor engage for any thing.' At the ſame time Mr. St. John told Hoffman, the emperor's reſident here, 'That if the prince 'had a mind to divert himſelf in London, the 'miniſters would do their part to entertain him, 'and be ſure to trouble him with no manner of 'buſineſs.'

This coldneſs retarded the prince's journey for ſome days; but did not prevent it, although he had a ſecond meſſage by the queen's order, with this farther addition, 'That his name had lately 'been made uſe, on many occaſions, to create 'a ferment, and ſtir up ſedition; and that her 'majeſty judged it would be neither ſafe for him, 'nor convenient for her, that he ſhould come 'over at this time.' But all would not do: it was enough that the queen did not abſolutely forbid him, and the party-confederates, both foreign and domeſtic, thought his preſence would be highly neceſſary for their ſervice.

Towards the end of December, the lord privy-ſeal * ſet out for Holland. He was ordered to ſtop at the Hague, and, in conjunction with the earl of Strafford, to declare to the ſtates, in her majeſty's name, 'her reſolutions to conclude no 'peace, wherein the allies in general, and each 'confederate in particular, might not find their 'ample ſecurity, and their reaſonable ſatisfacti-'on: that ſhe was ready to inſiſt upon their bar-'rier, and the advantages of their trade, in the 'manner the ſtates themſelves ſhould deſire; 'and to concert with them ſuch a plan of treaty, 'as both powers might be under mutual engage-'ments never to recede from: that nothing could 'be of greater importance, than for the miniſters 'of Great Britain and Holland to enter the con-'greſs under the ſtricteſt ties of confidence, and 'entirely to concur throughout the courſe of 'theſe negociations. To which purpoſe, it was 'her majeſty's pleaſure, that their lordſhips ſhould 'adjuſt with the Dutch miniſters, the beſt man-'ner and method for opening and carrying on 'the conferences, and declare themſelves inſtruct-'ed to communicate freely their thoughts and 'meaſures to the plenipotentiaries of the ſtates,

* Dr. Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol.

'who, they hoped, had received the ſame in-
'ſtructions.

Laſtly, The two lords were to ſignify to the penſionary, and the other miniſters, 'That her 'majeſty's preparations for the next campaign 'were carried on with all the diſpatch and vigour, 'which the preſent circumſtances would allow; 'and to inſiſt, that the ſame might be done by 'the ſtates, and that both powers ſhould join in 'preſſing the emperor, and other allies, to make 'greater efforts than they had hitherto done; 'without which the war muſt languiſh, and the 'terms of peace become every day more diſadvan-'tageous.'

The two Britiſh plenipotentiaries went to Utrecht with very large inſtructions, and after the uſual manner, were to make much higher demands from France (at leaſt in behalf of the allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The ſum of what they had in charge, beſides matter of form, was to concert with the miniſters of the ſeveral powers engaged againſt France, 'That all differences ariſing among them ſhould 'be accommodated between themſelves, without 'ſuffering the French to interfere: that what-'ever were propoſed to France by a miniſter of 'the alliance, ſhould be backed by the whole

'confederacy: that a time might be fixed for 'the concluſion, as there had been for the com- 'mencement of the treaty.' Spain was to be demanded out of the hands of the Bourbon family, as the moſt effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with France; and whatever conditions the allies could agree upon for hindering that union, their iordſhips were peremptorily to inſiſt on.

As the intereſts of each ally in particular, the plenipotentiaries of Britain were to demand 'Straſburgh, the fort of Kehl, with its depen- 'dencies, and the town of Briſac, with its terri- 'tory, for the emperor: that France ſhould poſ- 'ſeſs Alſatia, according to the treaty of Weſtpha- 'lia, with the right of prefecture only over the 'ten imperial cities in that country: that the 'fortifications of the ſaid ten cities be put into 'the condition they were in at the time of the 'ſaid treaty, except Landau, which was to be 'demanded for the emperor and empire, with 'liberty of demoliſhing the fortifications: that 'the French king ſhould, at a certain time, 'and at his own expence, demoliſh the fortreſſes 'of Hunningen, New Briſac, and fort Lewis, 'never to be rebuilt.

'That the town and fortreſs of Rhinfelt ſhould

'be demanded for the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel,
'until that matter be otherwiſe ſettled.

'That the clauſe relating to religion, in the
'fourth article of the treaty of Riſwick, and con-
'trary to that of Weſtphalia, ſhould be annul-
'led, and the ſtate of religion in Germany reſtor-
'ed to the tenor of the treaty of Weſtphalia.

'That France ſhould acknowlege the king of
'Pruſſia, and give him no diſturbance in Neuf-
'chatel and Valengin: that the principality of
'Orange, and other eſtates belonging to the late
'king William, ſhould be reſtored, as law ſhould
'direct.

'That the duke of Hanover ſhould be acknow-
'leged elector.

'That the king of Portugal ſhould enjoy all
'the advantages ſtipulated between him and the
'allies.

'That the ſtates ſhould have for their barrier
'Furnes, Fort-Knock, Menin, Ipres, Liſle,
'Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Maubeuge,
'Douay, Bethune Avie, St. Venant, and Bou-
'chain, with their cannon, *&c.* That the French
'king ſhould reſtore all the places belonging to
'Spain, now or during this war, in his poſſeſſi-
'on in the Netherlands: that ſuch part of them
'as ſhould be thought fit, might be allowed like-

'wiſe for a barrier to the ſtates: that France 'ſhould grant the tariff of 1664 to the ſtates, 'and exemption of fifty pence *per* tun upon 'Dutch goods trading to that kingdom.

'But that theſe articles in favour of the ſtates 'ſhould not be concluded, till the barrier-treaty 'were explained to the queen's ſatisfaction.

'That the duke of Savoy ſhould be put in 'poſſeſſion of all taken from him in this war, and 'enjoy the places yielded to him by the emperor, 'and other allies: that France ſhould likewiſe 'yield to him Exilles, Feneſtrilles, Chaumount, 'the valley of Pregata, and the land lying be-'tween Piedmont and mount Genu.

'That the articles about demoliſhing of Dun-'kirk ſhould be explained.'

As to Britain, the plenipotentiaries were to inſiſt, 'That Nieuport, Dendermond, Ghent, 'and all places which appear to be a barrier ra-'ther againſt England than France, ſhould ei-'ther not be given to the Dutch, or at leaſt in 'ſuch a manner, as not to hinder the queen's 'ſubjects free paſſage to and from the Low-'Countries.

'That the ſeventh article of the barrier-treaty, 'which impowers the ſtates, in caſe of an attack, 'to put troops at diſcretion in all places of the

'Low-Countries, ſhould be ſo explained as to 'be underſtood only of an attack from France.

'That Britain ſhould trade to the Low-Coun-'tries with the ſame privileges as the ſtates them-'ſelves.

'That the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould acknow-'lege the ſucceſſion of Hanover, and immediate-'ly oblige the pretender to leave France; and 'that the ſaid king ſhould promiſe, for himſelf 'and his heirs, never to acknowlege any perſon 'for king or queen of England, otherwiſe than 'according to the ſettlements now in force.

'That a treaty of commerce ſhould be com-'menced, as ſoon at poſſible, between France 'and Britain; and in the mean time, the neceſ-'ſary points relating to it ſettled.

'That the iſle of St. Chriſtopher's ſhould be 'ſurrendered to the queen, Hudſon's bay reſtor-'ed, Placentia and the whole iſland of New-'foundland, yielded to Britain, by the moſt Chri-'ſtian king; who was likewiſe to quit all claim 'to Nova Scotia and Annapolis Royal.

'That Gibraltar and Minorca ſhould be an-'nexed to the Britiſh crown.

'That the Aſſiento ſhould be granted to Bri-'tain for thirty years, with the ſame advantage 'as to France; with an extent of ground on the

'river of Plata, for keeping and refreſhing the 'negroes.

'That Spain ſhould grant to the ſubjects of 'Britain as large privileges as to any other na- 'tion whatſoever; as likewiſe an exemption of 'duties, amounting to an advantage of at leaſt 'fifteen *per cent.*

'That ſatisfaction ſhould be demanded for 'what ſhould appear to be juſtly due to her ma- 'jeſty from the emperor and the ſtates.

'Laſtly, That the plenipotentiaries ſhould 'conſult with thoſe of the proteſtant allies, the 'moſt effectual methods for reſtoring the pro- 'teſtants of France to their religious and civil li- 'berties, aud for the immediate releaſe of thoſe 'who are now in the galleys.'

What part of theſe demands were to be inſiſted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the ſequel of this negociation. But there was no difficulty of moment enough to retard the peace, except a method for preventing the union of France and Spain under one prince, and the ſettling the barrier for Holland; which laſt, as claimed by the ſtates, could, in prudence and ſafety, be no more allowed by us than by France.

The ſtates-general having appointed Monſ. Buys to be one of their plenipotentiaries at

Utrecht, that miniſter left England a few days after the lord privy ſeal. In his laſt conference with the lords of the council, he abſolutely declared, 'That his maſters had done their utmoſt, 'both by ſea and land: that it was unreaſonable 'to expect more: that they had exceeded their 'proportion, even beyond Britain; and that as 'to the emperor, and other allies, he knew no 'expedient left for making them act with more 'vigour, than to purſue them with pathetical 'exhortations.'

This miniſter was ſent over hither, inſtructed and impowered by halves. The ferment raiſed by the united endeavours of our party-leaders, among whom he was a conſtant fellow-labourer to the utmoſt of his ſkill, had wholly confounded him; and thinking to take the advantage of negociating well for Holland at the expence of Britain, he acted but ill for his own country, and worſe for the common cauſe. However, the queen's miniſters and he parted with the greateſt civility; and her majeſty's preſent was double the value of what is uſual to the character he bore.

As the queen was determined to alter her meaſures in making war, ſo ſhe thought nothing would ſo much convince the ſtates of the neceſſity of a peace, as to have them frequently put

in mind of this reſolution, which her ambaſſador Strafford, then at the Hague, was accordingly directed to do; and if they ſhould object, of what ill conſequence it would be for the enemy to know her majeſty deſigned to leſſen her expences, he might anſwer, 'That the miniſters here were 'ſorry for it; but the Dutch could only blame 'themſelves, for forcing into ſuch a neceſſity a 'princeſs, to whoſe friendſhip they owed the 'preſervation and grandeur of their republic, and 'chuſing to lean on a broken faction, rather than 'place their confidence in the queen.'

It was her majeſty's earneſt deſire, that there ſhould be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the miniſters of all the allies, than which nothing could be more effectual to make France comply with their juſt demands: above all, ſhe directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the ſtricteſt confidence with thoſe of Holland; and that, after the ſtates had conſented to explain the barrier-treaty to her reaſonable ſatisfaction, both powers ſhould form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and ſuch as might ſecure the quiet of Europe, as well as the particular intereſts of each confederate.

The Dutch were accordingly preſſed, before the congreſs opened, to come to ſome tempera-

ment upon that famous treaty; becauſe the miniſters here expected it would be ſoon laid before the houſe of commons, by which the reſentment of the nation would probably appear againſt thoſe who had been actors and adviſers in it; but Monſ. Buys, who uſually ſpoke for his colleagues, was full of oppoſition, began to expoſtulate upon the advantages Britain had ſtipulated with France, and to inſiſt, that his maſters ought to ſhare equally in them all, but eſpecially the Aſſiento contract: ſo that no progreſs was made in fixing a previous good correſpondence between Britain and the ſtates, which her majeſty had ſo earneſt-recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniencies, the conferences began at Utrecht, upon the twenty ninth of January, N. S. 1711-12, at ten in the morning. The miniſters of the allies going into the town-houſe at one door, and thoſe of France, at the ſame inſtant, at another, they all took their ſeats without diſtinction; and the biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy ſeal, firſt plenipotentiary of Britain, opened the aſſembly with a ſhort ſpeech, directed to the miniſters of France, in words to the following effect:

'*Meſſieurs*,

'We are here met to-day, in the name of 'God, to enter upon a treaty of general peace, 'between the high allies and the king your ma- 'ſter. We bring ſincere intentions, and expreſs 'orders from our ſuperiors, to concur, on their 'part, with whatever may advance and perfect 'ſo ſalutary and Chriſtian a work. On the other 'ſide, we hope you have the ſame diſpoſition; 'and that your orders will be ſo full, as to be 'able, without loſs of time, to anſwer the ex- 'pectation of the high allies, by explaining your- 'ſelves clearly and roundly upon the points we 'ſhall have to ſettle in theſe conferences; and 'that you will perform this in ſo plain and ſpe- 'cific a manner, as every prince and ſtate in the 'confederacy may find a juſt and reaſonable ſatis- 'faction.'

The French began by endeavouring to explain the overtures, which Monſ. Meſnager had delivered to the queen ſome months before, and to give in a ſpecific project of what their maſter would yield, provided the allies would each give a ſpecific anſwer, by making their ſeveral demands; which method, after many difficulties, and affected delays of the Dutch, was at length agreed to.

But the ſtates, who had, with the utmoſt diſcontent, ſeen her majeſty at the head of this negociation, where they intended to have placed themſelves, begun to diſcover their ill-humour upon every occaſion; they raiſed endleſs difficulties about ſettling the barrier-treaty, as the queen deſired; and in one of the firſt general conferences, they would not ſuffer the Britiſh ſecretary to take the minutes, but nominated ſome Dutch profeſſor for that office, which the queen refuſed, and reſented their behaviour as an uſeleſs caval, intended only to ſhew their want of reſpect. The Britiſh plenipotentiaries had great reaſon to ſuſpect, that the Dutch were, at this time, privately endeavouring to engage in ſome ſeparate meaſures with France, by the intervention of one Moleau, a buſy factious agent at Amſterdam, who had been often employed in ſuch intrigues: that this was the cauſe which made them ſo litigious and ſlow in all their ſteps, in hopes to break the congreſs, and find better terms for their trade and barrier, from the French, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The Dutch miniſters did alſo apply themſelves with induſtry, to cultivate the imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to ſecure all advantages of commerce with Spain and the Weſt-Indies, in caſe thoſe domini-

ons could be procured for the emperor: for this reaſon they avoided ſettling any general plan of peace, in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Britain, which her majeſty deſired; and monſieur Buys plainly told their lordſhips, that it was a point, which neither he nor his colleagues could conſent to, before the ſtates were admitted equal ſharers with Britain in the trade of Spain.

The court, having notice of this untractable temper in the Dutch, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of Britain, for preſſing thoſe of the ſtates to adjuſt the groſs inequalities of the barrier-treaty, ſince nothing was more uſual or agreeable to reaſon than for princes, who find themſelves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they ſhould be modified and explained. And ſince it now appeared by votes in the houſe of commons, that the ſenſe of the nation agreed with what her majeſty deſired, if the Dutch miniſters would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordſhips were directed to improve and amend the particular conceſſions made to Britain by France, and form them into a treaty; for the queen was determined never to allow the ſtates any ſhare in the Aſſiento, Gibraltar, and Port-Mahon; nor could think it reaſonable, that they ſhould be upon an

equal foot with her in the trade of Spain, to the conqueſt whereof they had contributed ſo little.

Nor was the conduct of the imperial miniſter, at this time, leſs perplexing than that of the ſtates, both thoſe powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the negociation, or, upon forcing from the queen thoſe advantages ſhe expected by it for her own kingdoms. Her majeſty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of March, to ſend Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the treaſurer's, to Utrecht, fully informed of her mind, which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of Britain.

Mr. Harley ſtopped in his way to Utrecht at the Hague, and there told the penſionary, 'That 'nothing had happened lately in England but 'what was long foretold him, as well as the o-'ther miniſters of the allies: that the proceedings 'of the houſe of commons, particularly about 'the barrier-treaty, muſt chiefly be aſcribed to 'the manner in which the queen and the nation 'had been treated by Monſ. Bothmar, Count 'Gallas, Buys, and other foreign miniſters: that 'if the ſtates would yet enter into a ſtrict union 'with the queen, give ſatisfaction in the ſaid 'treaty, and join in concert with her plenipoten-'tiaries at Utrecht, a ſafe and advantageous

'peace might be obtained for the whole alliance; 'otherwiſe her majeſty muſt ſave her own coun-'try, and join with ſuch of her allies as would 'join with her.

'As to the war, that the conduct of the allies 'and their oppoſition to the queen, by private 'intrigues carried on among her own ſubjects, as 'well as by open remonſtrances, had made the 'houſe of commons take that matter out of the 'hands of the miniſters.

'Laſtly, That in caſe the preſent treaty were 'broken off by the Dutch refuſing to comply, 'her majeſty thought it reaſonable to inſiſt, that 'ſome cautionary places be put into her hands as 'pledges, that no other negociation ſhould be 'entered into by the ſtates-general, without her 'participation.'

Mr. Harley's inſtructions to the queen's plenipotentiaries were, 'That they ſhould preſs thoſe 'of France, to open themſelves as far as poſſible, 'in concerting ſuch a plan of general peace, as 'might give reaſonable ſatisfaction to all the con-'federates, and ſuch as her parliament would 'approve: that the people of England believed 'France would conſent to ſuch a plan; wherein, 'if they found themſelves deceived, they would 'be as eager for proſecuting the war as ever.'

Their lordſhips were to declare openly to the Dutch, 'That no extremity ſhould make her ma-'jeſty depart from inſiſting to have the Aſſiento 'for her own ſubjects, and to keep Gibraltar 'and Port-Mahon; but if the ſtates would agree 'with her upon theſe three heads, ſhe would be 'content to reduce the trade of Spain and the 'Weſt-Indies, to the condition it was in under 'the late catholic king Charles II.

The French were farther to be preſſed, 'that 'the pretender ſhould be immediately ſent out 'of that kingdom; and that the moſt effectual 'method ſhould be taken, for preventing the 'union of France and Spain under one prince.'

About this time her majeſty's miniſters, and thoſe of the allies at Utrecht, delivered in the ſeveral poſtulata, or demands of their maſters to the French plenipotentiaries, which having been ſince made public, and all of them, except thoſe of Britain, very much varying in the courſe of the negociation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a tranſcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the laſt Dauphin's death, the father, ſon, and grandſon, all of that title, dying within the compaſs of a year, monſieur Gaultier went to France with letters to the marquis of Torcy, to propoſe her majeſty's expedi-

ent for preventing the union of that kingdom with Spain; which, as it was the moſt important article to to be ſettled, in order to ſecure peace for Europe, ſo it was a point that required to be ſpeedily adjuſted under the preſent circumſtances and ſituation of the Bourbon ſamily, there being only left a child of two years old to ſtand between the duke of Anjou and his ſucceeding to the crown of France.

Her majeſty likewiſe preſſed France by the ſame diſpatches, to ſend full inſtructions to their plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer to the allies ſuch a plan of peace, as might give reaſonable ſatisfaction to all her allies.

The queen's propoſal for preventing an union between France and Spain was, 'That Philip 'ſhould formally renounce the kingdom of France 'for himſelf and his poſterity; and that this re-'nunciation ſhould be confirmed by the courts 'or ſtates of Spain, who, without queſtion, would 'heartily concur againſt ſuch an union, by which 'their country muſt become a province to France.' In like manner, the French princes of the blood were ſeverally to renounce all title to Spain.

The French raiſed many difficulties upon ſeveral particulars of this expedient; but the queen perſiſted to refuſe any plan of peace before this

weighty point were ſettled in the manner ſhe propoſed, which was afterwards ſubmitted to, as in proper place we ſhall obſerve. In the mean time, the negociation at Utrecht proceeded with a very ſlow pace; the Dutch interpoſing all obſtructions they could contrive, refuſing to come to any reaſonable temper upon the barrier-treaty, or to offer a plan, in concert with the queen, for a general peace. Nothing leſs would ſatisfy them, than the partaking of thoſe advantages we had ſtipulated for ourſelves, and which did no ways interfere with their trade or ſecurity. They ſtill expected ſome turn in England; their friends on this ſide had ventured to aſſure them, that the queen could not live many months, which, indeed, from the bad ſtate of her majeſty's health, was reaſonable to expect. The Britiſh plenipotentiaries daily diſcovered new endeavours of Holland to treat privately with France; and laſtly, thoſe among the ſtates, who deſired the war ſhould continue, ſtrove to gain time, until the campaign ſhould open; and by reſolving to enter into action with the firſt opportunity, render all things deſperate, and break up the congreſs.

This ſcheme did exactly fall in with prince Eugene's diſpoſitions, whom the ſtates had choſ-

en for their general, and of whoſe conduct, in this conjuncture, the queen had too much reaſon to be jealous; but her majeſty, who was reſolved to do her utmoſt towards putting a good and ſpeedy end to this war, having placed the duke of Ormond at the head of her forces in Flanders, whither he has now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in Britiſh pay, whether ſubjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unleſs upon a very apparent advantage. At the ſame time the queen determined to make one thorough trial of the diſpoſition of the ſtates, by allowing them the utmoſt conceſſions that could any way ſuit either with her ſafety or honour. She therefore directed her miniſters at Utrecht, to tell the Dutch, 'That, in order to ſhew how deſirous ſhe was 'to live in perfect amity with that republic, ſhe 'would reſign up the fifteen *per cent.* advan'tage upon Engliſh goods ſent to the Spaniſh do'minions, which the French king had offered 'her by a power from her grandſon, and be con'tent to reduce that trade to the ſtate in which 'it was under the late king of Spain. She would 'accept of any tolerable ſoftening of theſe words 'in the ſeventh article of the barrier-treaty, where

'it is ſaid, the ſtates ſhall have power, in caſe 'of an apparant attack, to put as many troops 'as they pleaſe into all the places of the Nether-'lands, without ſpecifying an attack from the 'ſide of France, as ought to have been done; 'otherwiſe, the queen might juſtly think they 'were preparing themſelves for a rupture with 'Britain. Her majeſty likewiſe conſented, that 'the ſtates ſhould keep Nieuport, Dendermond, 'and the caſtle of Ghent, as an addition to their 'barrier, although ſhe were ſenſible how injuri-'ous thoſe conceſſions would be to the trade of 'her ſubjects; and would wave the demand of 'Oſtend being delivered into her hands, which 'ſhe might with juſtice inſiſt on. In return of 'all this, that the queen only deſired the mini-'ſters of the ſtates would enter into a cloſe cor-'reſpondence with her's, and ſettle between them 'ſome plan of a general peace, which might give 'reaſonable content to all her allies, and which 'her majeſty would endeavour to bring France 'to conſent to. She deſired the trade of her 'kingdoms to the Netherlands, and to the towns 'of their barrier, might be upon as good a foot 'as it was before the war began: that the Dutch 'would not inſiſt to have a ſhare in the Aſſiento, 'to which they had not the leaſt pretenſions, and

'that they would no longer encourage the in-
'trigues of a faction againſt her government.
'Her majeſty aſſured them in plain terms, that
'her own future meaſures, and the conduct of
'her plenipotentiaries, ſhould be wholly govern-
'ed by their behaviour in theſe points; and that
'her offers were only conditional, in caſe of their
'compliance with what ſhe deſired.'

But all theſe proofs of the queen's kindneſs and ſincerity would not avail. The Dutch miniſters pleaded, they had no power to concert the plan of a general peace with thoſe of Britain: however, they aſſured the latter, that the Aſſiento was the only difficulty which ſtruck with their maſters. Whereupon, at their deſire, a contract for that traffic was twice read to them; after which they appeared very well ſatisfied, and ſaid they would go to the Hague for further inſtructions. Thither they went, and, after a week's abſence, returned the ſame anſwer, 'That they
'had no power to ſettle a ſcheme of peace; but
'could only diſcourſe of it, when the difficulties
'of the barrier-treaty were over.' And Monſ. Buys took a journey to Amſterdam, on purpoſe to ſtir up that city, where he was penſionary, againſt yielding the Aſſiento to Britain; but was unſucceſsful in his negociation; the point being

yielded up there, and in moſt other towns in Holland.

It will have an odd ſound in hiſtory, and appear hardly credible, that in ſeveral petty republics of ſingle towns, which made up the ſtates-general, it ſhould be formally debated, whether the queen of Great Britain, who preſerved the commonwealth at the charge of ſo many millions, ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by Spain of ſelling African ſlaves in the Spaniſh dominions of America! But there was a prevailing faction at the Hague, violently bent againſt any peace, where the queen muſt act that part which they had intended for themſelves. Theſe politicians, who held conſtant correſpondence with their old dejected friends in England, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the queen's death, or the party's reſtoration. They likewiſe endeavoured to ſpin out the time, till prince Eugene's activity had puſhed on ſome great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace. Therefore the Dutch plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the inſtructions of thoſe miſtaken patriots, acted in every point with a ſpirit of litigiouſneſs, than which nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a ſtrict union between the allies, but

eſpecially Britain and Holland, being doubtleſs the only means for procuring ſafe and honourable terms from France.

But neither was this the worſt; for the queen received undoubted intelligence from Utrecht, that the Dutch were again attempting a ſeparate correſpondence with France. And by letters, intercepted here, from Vienna, it was found, that the imperial court, whoſe miniſters were in the utmoſt confidence with thoſe of Holland, expreſſed the moſt furious rage againſt her majeſty, for the ſteps ſhe had taken to advance a peace.

This unjuſtifiable treatment, the queen could not digeſt from an ally, upon whom ſhe had conferred ſo many obligations, whom ſhe uſed with ſo much indulgence and ſincerity during the whole courſe of the negociation, and had ſo often invited to go along with her in every motion towards a peace. She apprehended likewiſe, that the negociation might be taken out of her hands, if France could be ſecure of eaſier conditions in Holland, or might think that Britain wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She reſolved, therefore, on this occaſion, to exert herſelf with vigour, ſteadineſs, and diſpatch; and in the beginning of May, ſent her commands to the earl of Strafford to repair immediately to

England, in order to conſult with her miniſters what was proper to be done.

The propoſal above-mentioned, for preventing the union of France and Spain, met with many difficulties; Monſ. de Torcy raiſing objections againſt ſeveral parts of it. But the queen refuſed to proceed any farther with France, until this weighty point were fully ſettled to her ſatisfaction; after which, ſhe promiſed to grant a ſuſpenſion of arms, provided the town and citadel of Dunkirk might be delivered as a pledge into her hands: and propoſed that Ipres might be ſurrendered to the Dutch, if they would conſent to come into the ſuſpenſion. France abſolutely refuſed the latter; and the ſtates-general having acted in perpetual contradiction to her majeſty, ſhe preſſed that matter no farther; becauſe ſhe doubted they would not agree to a ceſſation of arms. However, ſhe reſolved to put a ſpeedy end, or at leaſt intermiſſion, to her own ſhare in the war, and the French having declared themſelves ready to agree to her expedients, for preventing the union of the two crowns, and conſented to the delivery of Dunkirk; poſitive orders were ſent to the duke of Ormond to avoid engaging in any battle or ſiege, until he had further inſtructions; but he was directed to conceal

his orders, and to find the beſt excuſes he could, if any preſſing occaſion ſhould offer.

The reaſons for this unuſual proceeding, which made a mighty noiſe, were of ſufficient weight to juſtify it; for, purſuant to the agreement made between us and France, a courier was then diſpatched from Fontainbleau to Madrid, with the offer of an alternative to Philip, either of reſigning Spain immediately to the duke of Savoy, upon the hopes of ſucceeding to France, and ſome preſent advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needleſs to dilate on; or of adhering to Spain, and renouncing all future claim to France for himſelf and his poſterity.

Until it could be known which part Philip would accept, the queen would not take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, nor ſuffer an armiſtice to be declared. But, however, ſince the moſt Chriſtian king had agreed that his grandſon ſhould be forced, in caſe of a refuſal, to make his choice immediately, her majeſty could not endure to think, that perhaps ſome thouſands of lives of her own ſubjects and allies might be ſacrificed, without neceſſity, if an occaſion ſhould be found or ſought for fighting a battle; which, ſhe very well knew, prince Eugene would eagerly attempt,

and put all into confuſion, to gratify his own ambition, the enmity of his new maſters the Dutch, and the rage of his court.

But the duke of Ormond, who, with every other quality that can accompliſh or adorn a great man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his anceſtors, found it very difficult to acquit himſelf of his commiſſion; for prince Eugene, and all the field-deputies of the ſtates, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or beſieging Queſnoy, the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected; and accordingly, about three days after the duke had received thoſe orders from court, it was propoſed to his grace, at a meeting with the prince and deputies, that the French army ſhould be attacked, their camp having been viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it with ſucceſs: for the mareſchal de Villars, who had notice ſent him by Monſ. de Torcy of what was paſſing, and had ſignified the ſame by a trumpet to the duke, ſhewed leſs vigilance than was uſual to that general, taking no precautions to ſecure his camp, or obſerve the motions of the allies, probably on purpoſe to provoke them; the duke ſaid, 'That 'the earl of Strafford's ſudden departure for Eng-'land, made him believe there was ſome thing

'of conſequence now tranſacting, which would 'be known in four or five days; and therefore 'deſired they would defer this or any other un- 'dertaking, until he would receive freſh letters 'from England." Whereupon the prince and 'deputies immediately told the duke. 'That 'they looked for ſuch an anſwer as he had gi- 'ven them: that they had ſuſpected our mea- 'ſures for ſome time, and their ſuſpicions were 'confirmed by the expreſs his grace had ſo lately 'received, as well as by the negligence of Monſ. 'Villars.' They appeared extremely diſſatisfied; and the deputies told the duke, that they would immediately ſend an account of his anſwer to their maſters which they accordingly did; and ſoon after, by order from the ſtates, wrote him an expoſtulating letter, in a ſtile leſs reſpectful than became them; deſiring him among other things, to explain himſelf, whether he had poſitive orders not to fight the French; and afterwards told him, 'They were ſure he had ſuch 'orders, otherwiſe he could not anſwer what he 'had done.' But the duke ſtill waved the queſtion, ſaying, 'he would be glad to have let- 'ters from England, before he entered upon ac- 'tion, and that he expected them daily.'

Upon this incident, the miniſters and generals

of the allies immediately took the alarm, venting their fury in very violent expreſſions againſt the queen, and thoſe ſhe employed in her councils; ſaid, they were betrayed by Britain, and aſſumed the countenance of thoſe who think they have received an injury, and were diſpoſed to return it.

The duke of Ormond's army conſiſted of eighteen thouſand of her majeſty's ſubjects, and about thirty thouſand hired from other princes, either wholly by the queen, or jointly by her and the ſtates. The duke immediately informed the court of the diſpoſitions he found among the foreign generals upon this occaſion; and that upon an exigency, he could only depend on the Britiſh troops adhering to him; thoſe of Hanover having already determined to deſert to the Dutch, tempted the Danes to do the like, and that he had reaſon to ſuppoſe the ſame of the reſt.

Upon the news arriving at Utrecht, that the duke of Ormond had refuſed to engage in any action againſt the enemy, the Dutch miniſters there went immediately to make their complaints to the lord privy-ſeal; aggravating the ſtrangeneſs of this proceeding, together with the conſequences of it, in the loſs of a moſt favourable opportunity of ruining the French army, and the

diſcontent it muſt needs create in the whole body of the confederates. Adding, how hard it was that they ſhould be kept in the dark, and have no communication of what was done in a point which ſo nearly concerned them. They concluded, that the duke muſt needs have acted by orders; and deſired his lordſhip to write both to court, and to his grace, what they had now ſaid.

The biſhop anſwered, 'That he knew no-
'thing of this fact, but what they had told him;
'and therefor was not prepared with a reply to
'their repreſentations: only, in general, he
'could venture to ſay, that this caſe appeared
'very like the conduct of their field-deputies u-
'pon former occaſions: that if ſuch orders were
'given, they were certainly built upon very ju-
'ſtifiable foundations, and would ſoon be ſo ex-
'plained as to convince the ſtates and all the
'world, that the common intereſt would be bet-
'ter provided for another way, than by a battle
'or ſiege: that the want of communication which
'they complained of, could not make the ſtates
'ſo uneaſy, as their declining to receive it, had
'made the queen, who had uſed her utmoſt en-
'deavours to perſuade them to concur with her
'in concerting every ſtep towards a general peace,
'and ſettling ſuch a plan as both ſides might ap-

'prove and adhere to; but, to this day, the 'ſtates had not thought fit to accept thoſe offers, 'or to authoriſe any of their miniſters to treat 'with her majeſty's plenipotentiaries upon that 'affair, although they had been preſſed to it ever 'ſince the negociation began: that his lordſhip, 'to ſhew that he did not ſpeak his private ſenſe, 'took this opportunity to execute the orders he 'had received the evening before, by declaring 'to them, that all her majeſty's offers for ad-'juſting the differences between her and the ſtates 'were founded upon this expreſs condition, That 'they ſhould come immediately into the queen's 'meaſures, and act openly and ſincerely with 'her; and that, from their conduct, ſo directly 'contrary, ſhe now looked upon herſelf to be 'under no obligation to them."

Monſ. Buys and his collegues were ſtunned with this declaration, made to them at a time when they pretended to think the right of complaining to be on their ſide, and had come to the biſhop upon that errand. But after their ſurpriſe was abated, and Buy's long reaſonings at an end, they began to think how matters might be retrieved: and were of opinion, that the ſtates ſhould immediately diſpatch a miniſter to England, unleſs his lordſhip were empowered to treat with them; which, without new commands, he

ſaid he was not. They afterwards deſired to know of the biſhop, what the meaning was of the laſt words of his declaration, " That her majeſty 'looked upon herſelf to be under no obligation, 'to them.' He told them his opinion, 'That as 'the queen was bound by treaty to concert with 'the ſtates the conditions of a peace, ſo, upon 'their declining the concert ſo frequently offer-'ed, ſhe was acquitted of that obligation; but 'that he verily believed, whatever meaſures her 'majeſty ſhould take, ſhe would always have a 'friendly regard to the intereſt of their common-'wealth; and that as their unkindneſs had been 'very unexpected and diſagreeable to her majeſty, 'ſo their compliance would be equally pleaſing.'

I have been the more circumſtantial in relating this affair, becauſe it furniſhed abundance of diſcourſe, and gave riſe to many wild conjectures and miſrepreſentations, as well here as in Holland, eſpecially that part which concerned the duke of Ormond; for the angry faction in the houſe of commons, upon the firſt intelligence that the duke had declined to act offenſively againſt France, in concurrence with the allies, moved for an addreſs, wherein the queen ſhould be informed of 'the deep concern of her commons for the dan-'gerous conſequences to the common cauſe,

'which muſt ariſe from this proceeding of her 'general; and to beſeech her, that ſpeedy in-'ſtructions might be given to the duke to proſe-'cute the war with vigour, in order to quiet 'the minds of her people, etc.' But a great majority was againſt this motion, and a reſolution drawn up and preſented to the queen by the whole houſe of a quite contrary tenour, "That 'they had an entire confidence in her majeſty's 'moſt gracious promiſe, to communicate to her 'parliament the terms of the peace, before the 'ſame ſhould be concluded; and that they 'would ſupport her majeſty, in obtaining an ho-'nourable and ſafe peace, againſt all ſuch per-'ſons either at home or abroad, who have en-'deavoured, or ſhall endeavour, to obſtruct the 'ſame.'

The courier, ſent with the alternative to Spain, was now returned, with an account that Philip had choſen to renounce France for himſelf and his poſterity; whereof the queen having received notice, her majeſty, upon the ſixth of June, in a long ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace ſtipulated between her and France. This ſpeech, being the plan whereby both France and the allies have been obliged to proceed in the ſubſequent

courſe of the treaty, I ſhall deſire the reader's leave to inſert it at length, although I believe it hath been already in moſt hands.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'The making peace and war is the undoubted prerogative of the crown; yet ſuch is the 'juſt confidence I place in you, that at the opening of this ſeſſion, I acquainted you that a 'negociation for a general peace was begun; and 'afterwards by meſſages, I promiſed to communicate to you the terms of peace, before the 'ſame ſhould be concluded,

'In purſuance of that promiſe, I now come 'to let you know upon what terms a general 'peace may be made.

'I need not mention the difficulties which ariſe from the very nature of this affair; and it 'is but too apparent, that theſe difficulties have 'been encreaſed by other obſtructions, artfully 'contrived to hinder this great and good work.

'Nothing, however, has moved me from ſteadily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true intereſts of my own kingdoms; and I have not 'omitted any thing, which might procure to all 'our allies what is due to them by treaties, and 'what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.

'The aſſuring of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as 'by law eſtabliſhed, in the houſe of Hanover, 'to theſe kingdoms, being what I have neareſt 'at heart, particular care is taken not only to 'have that acknowleged in the ſtrongeſt terms, 'but to have an additional ſecurity, by the re-'moval of that perſon out of the dominions of 'France, who has pretended to diſturb this ſet-'tlement.

'The apprehenſion that Spain and the Weſt 'Indies might be united to France, was the chief 'inducement to begin this war; and the effec-'tual preventing of ſuch an union was the prin-'ciple I laid down at the commencement of this 'treaty: former examples, and the late negocia-'tions, ſufficiently ſhew how difficult it is to find 'means to accompliſh this work. I would not 'content myſelf with ſuch as are ſpeculative, or 'depend on treaties only; I inſiſted on what 'was ſolid, and to have at hand the power of 'executing what ſhould be agreed.

'I can therefore now tell you, that France at 'laſt is brought to offer, that the duke of Anjou 'ſhall, for himſelf and deſcendants, renounce for 'ever all claim to the crown of France; and that 'this important article may be expoſed to no

'hazard, the performance is to accompany the 'promiſe.

'At the ſame time the ſucceſſion to the crown 'of France is to be declared, after the death of 'the preſent Dauphin and his ſons, in the duke 'of Berry and his ſons, in the duke of Orleans 'and his ſons, and ſo on to the reſt of the houſe 'of Bourbon.

'As to Spain and the Indies, the ſucceſſion 'to thoſe dominions, after the duke of Anjou 'and his children, is to deſcend to ſuch prince 'as ſhall be agreed upon at the treaty, for ever 'excluding the reſt of the houſe of Bourbon.

'For confirming the renounciations and ſet-'tlements before-mentioned, it is further offer-'ed, that they ſhould be ratified in the moſt 'ſtrong and ſolemn manner, both in France and 'Spain; and that thoſe kingdoms, as well as all 'the other powers engaged in the preſent war, 'ſhall be guarantees to the ſame.

'The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, that it 'executes itſelf: the intereſt of Spain is to ſup-'port it; and in France, the perſons to whom 'that ſucceſſion is to belong will be ready and 'powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

'France and Spain are now more effectually 'divided than ever. And thus by the bleſſing

'of God, will a real balance of power be fixed 'in Europe, and remain liable to as few acci- 'dents as human affairs can be exempted from.

'A treaty of commerce between theſe kingdoms 'and France has been entered upon; but the 'exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods, and the 'prohibitions of others, make it impoſſible to fi- 'niſh this work ſo ſoon as were to be deſired. 'Care is however taken to eſtabliſh a method of 'ſettling this matter; and in the mean time pro- 'viſion is made, that the ſame privileges and ad- 'vantages, as ſhall be granted to any other nati- 'on by France, ſhall be granted in like manner 'to us.

'The diviſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, 'between us and the French, having been the 'cauſe of great inconveniency and damage to my 'ſubjects, I have demanded to have an abſolute 'ceſſation made to me of the whole iſland, and 'France agrees to this demand.

'Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the 'trade of North America, that I have uſed my 'utmoſt endeavours to adjuſt that article in the 'moſt beneficial manner. France conſents to re- 'ſtore to us the whole bay and ſtreights of Hud- 'ſon, to deliver up the iſland of Newfoundland, 'with Placentia; and to make an abſolute ceſſion

'of Annapolis, with the reſt of Nova Scotia, or 'Accadie: the ſafety of our home trade will be 'better provided for, by the demolition of Dun-'kirk.

'Our Mediterranean trade, and the Britiſh in-'tereſt and influence in thoſe parts will be ſecur-'ed by the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Port-Ma-'hon, with the whole Iſland of Minorca, which 'are offered to remain in my hands.

'The trade to Spain and the Weſt Indies may 'in general be ſettled, as it was in the time of 'the late king of Spain, Charles the IId. and a 'particular proviſion be made, that all advan-'tages, rights, or privileges, which have been 'granted, or may hereafter be granted, by Spain 'to any other nation, ſhall be in like manner 'granted to the ſubjects of Great Britain.'

'But the part which we have born in the pro-'ſecution of this war, intitling us to ſome di-'ſtinction in the terms of peace, I have inſiſted, 'and obtained, that the aſſiento, or contract for 'furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with ne-'groes, ſhall be made with us for the term of 'thirty years, in the ſame manner as it has been 'enjoyed by the French for ten years paſt.

'I have not taken upon me to determine the 'intereſts of our confederates; theſe muſt be ad-

'juſted in the congreſs at Utrecht, where my beſt 'endeavours ſhall be employed, as they have hi-'therto conſtantly been, to procure to every one 'of them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction. In 'the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint 'you, that France offers to make the Rhine the 'barrier of the empire; to yield Briſac, the fort 'of Kehl, and Landau, and to raſe all the fortreſ-'ſes, both on the other ſide of the Rhine, and in 'that river.

'As to the proteſtant intereſt in Germany, 'there will be, on the part of France, no objec-'tion to the reſettling thereof, on the foot of the 'treaty of Weſtphalia.

'The Spaniſh Low-countries may go to his im-'perial majeſty: the kingdoms of Naples and 'Sardinia, the dutchy of Milan, and the places 'belonging to Spain on the coaſt of Tuſcany, 'may likewiſe be yielded by the treaty of peace 'to the emperor.

'As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remains no diſpute concerning the ceſſion of it by 'the Duke of Anjou, yet the diſpoſition thereof 'is not yet determined.

'The intereſts of the ſtates-general with reſ-'pect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have 'been demanded by their own miniſters, with the

'exception only of ſome very few ſpecies of mer-
'chandize; and the entire barrier, as demand-
'ed by the ſtates in 1709 from France, except
'two or three places at moſt.

'As to theſe exceptions, ſeveral expedients are
'propoſed; and I make no doubt but this bar-
'rier may be ſettled, as to render that republic
'perfectly ſecure againſt any enterprize on the
'part of France; which is the foundation of all
'my engagements upon this head with the
'ſtates.

'The demands of Portugal depending on the
'diſpoſition of Spain, and that article having been
'long in diſpute, it has not been yet poſſible to
'make any conſiderable progreſs therein; but
'my plenipotentiaries will now have an opportu-
'nity to aſſiſt that king in his pretenſions.

'Thoſe of the king of Pruſſia are ſuch as, I
'hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part
'of France, and my utmoſt endeavours ſhall not
'be wanting to procure all I am able to ſo good
'an ally.

'The difference between the barrier demand-
'ed for the duke of Savoy in 1709, and the of-
'fers now made by France, is very inconſider-
'able: but that prince having ſo ſignally diſtin-
'guiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the common

'cauſe, I am endeavouring to procure for him 'ſtill farther advantages.

'France has conſented, that the elector Pala-'tine ſhall continue his preſent rank among the 'electors, and remain in poſſeſſion of the upper 'Palatinate.

'The electoral dignity is likewiſe acknowleg-'ed in the houſe of Hanover, according to the 'article inſerted at that prince's deſire in my de-'mands.

'And as to the reſt of the allies, I make no 'doubt of being able to ſecure their ſeveral inte-'reſts.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

'I have now communicated to you, not only 'the terms of peace, which may, by the future 'treaty, be obtained for my own ſubjects; but 'likewiſe the propoſals of France, for ſatisfying 'our allies.

'The former are ſuch as I have reaſon to ex-'pect, to make my people ſome amends for that 'great and unequal burden which they have lain 'under, through the whole courſe of this war; 'and I am willing to hope, that none of our con-'federates, and eſpecially thoſe to whom ſo great 'acceſſions of dominion and power are to accrue

'by this peace, will envy Britain her ſhare in the 'glory and advantage of it.

'The latter are not yet ſo perfectly adjuſted, 'as a little more time might have rendered them; 'but the ſeaſon of the year making it neceſſary to 'put an end to this ſeſſion, I reſolved to longer 'to defer communicating theſe matters to you.

'I can make no doubt but you are all fully 'perſuaded, that nothing will be neglected on 'my part, in the progreſs of the negociation, to 'bring the peace to a happy iſſue; and I depend 'on your intire confidence in me, and your chear-'ful concurrence with me.'

The diſcontented party in the houſe of commons, finding the torrent againſt them not to be ſtemmed, ſuſpended their oppoſition; by which means an addreſs was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowlege her majeſty's condeſcenſion, to expreſs their ſatisfaction in what ſhe had already done, and to deſire ſhe would pleaſe to proceed with the preſent negociations for the obtaining a ſpeedy peace.

During theſe tranſactions at home, the duke of Ormond was in a very uneaſy ſituation at the army, employed in practiſing thoſe arts which perhaps are fitter for a ſubtle negociator than a great commander. But as he had always

proved his obedience, where courage or conduct could be of uſe; ſo the duty he profeſſed to his prince, made him ſubmit to continue in a ſtate of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her majeſty's ſervice. He had ſent early notice to the miniſters, that he could not depend upon the foreign forces in the queen's pay, and he now found ſome attempts were already begun to ſeduce them.

While the courier was expected from Madrid, the duke had orders to inform the marechal de Villars of the true ſtate of this affair; that his grace would have deciſive orders in three or four days. In the mean time, he deſired the marechal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himſelf, or to join with prince Eugene's army; which he muſt neceſſarily do, if the prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived with the account, that Philip had choſen to accept of Spain, her majeſty had propoſed to France a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months (to be prolonged three or four), between the armies now in Flanders, upon the following conditions:

'That, during the ſuſpenſion, endeavours 'ſhould be uſed for concluding a general peace;

'or, at leaſt, the article for preventing the union 'of France and Spain ſhould be punctually ex- 'ecuted by Philip's renouncing France, for him- 'ſelf and poſterity; and the princes of Bourbon, 'in like manner, renouncing Spain: and that the 'town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, ſhould be 'immediately delivered into the queen's hands.' Her majeſty, at the ſame time, endeavoured to get Cambray for the Dutch, provided they would come into the ſuſpenſion. But this was abſolutely rejected by France; which that court would never have ventured to do, if thoſe allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with ſincerity and openneſs in concert with her majeſty, as her plenipotentiaries had always deſired. However, the queen promiſed, that if the ſtates would yield to a ſuſpenſion of arms, they ſhould have ſome valuable pledge put into their poſſeſſion.

But now freſh intelligence daily arrived, both from Utrecht and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her majeſty's pay deſert her ſervice; and a deſign even of ſeizing the Britiſh forces was whiſpered about, and with reaſon ſuſpected.

When the queen's ſpeech was publiſhed in Holland, the lord privy-ſeal told the Dutch mi-

niſters at Utrecht, 'That what her majeſty had 'laid before her parliament could not, according 'to the rules of treaty, be looked on as the ut-'moſt of what France would yield in the courſe 'of a negociation; but only the utmoſt of what 'that crown would propoſe, in order to form the 'plan of a peace: that theſe conditions would 'certainly have been better, if the ſtates had 'thought fit to have gone hand in hand with her 'majeſty, as ſhe had ſo frequently exhorted them 'to do: that nothing but the want of harmony 'among the allies had ſpirited the French to 'ſtand out ſo long: that the queen would do 'them all the good offices in her power, if they 'thought fit to comply; and did not doubt of 'getting them reaſonable ſatisfaction, both in 'relation to their barrier and their trade.' But this reaſoning made no impreſſion; the Dutch miniſters ſaid, the queen's ſpeech had deprived them of the fruits of the war. They were in pain, leſt Liſle and Tournay might be two of the towns to be expected out of their barrier. The reſt of the allies grew angry, by the example of the Dutch. The populace in Holland began to be inflamed: they publickly talked, that Britain had betrayed them. Sermons were preached in ſeveral towns of the provinces, whether by direction or con-

nivance, filled with the higheſt inſtances of diſreſpect to her Britannic majeſty, whom they charged as a papiſt, and an enemy to their country. The lord privy ſeal himſelf believed ſomething extraordinary was in agitation, and that his own perſon was in danger from the fury of the people.

It is certain, that the ſtates appeared but a few days before much diſpoſed to comply with the meaſures the queen had taken, and would have conſented to a general armiſtice, if count Zinzendorf, one of the plenipotentiarles for the emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himſelf in ſowing jealouſies between Britain and the ſtates; and at the ſame time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the miniſters of Pruſſia, the Palatinate, and Hanover, for continuing the war. That thoſe three electors, who contributed nothing, except bodies of men in return of pay and ſubſidies, ſhould readily accept the propoſals of the emperor, is eaſy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave republic, uſually cautious enough in making their bargains, ſhould venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promiſes of the houſe of Auſtria, the little validity whereof they had ſo long experienced; and eſpecially

when they counted upon loſing the ſupport of Britain, their moſt powerful ally; but the falſe hopes given them by their friends in England of ſome new change in their favour, or an imagination of bringing France to better terms by the appearance of reſolution, added to the weakneſs or corruption of ſome, who adminiſtered their affairs, were the true cauſes which firſt created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The Dutch miniſters were wholly diſconcerted and ſurpriſed, when the Lord privy-ſeal told them, 'That a ſuſpenſion of arms in the Ne-'therlands would be neceſſary; and that the duke 'of Ormond intended very ſoon to declare it af-'ter he had taken poſſeſſion of Dunkirk.' But his lordſhip endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for haſtning the ſtates into a compliance with her majeſty. He likewiſe communicated to the miniſters of the allies the offers made by France as delivered in the ſpeech from the throne, which her majeſty thought to be ſatisfactory, and hoped their maſters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a ſpeedy concluſion, wherein each, in particular, might be aſſured of her beſt offices for advancing their juſt pretenſions.

In the mean time the duke of Ormond was directed to ſend a body of troops to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, as ſoon as he ſhould have notice from the marechal de Villars, that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it: but the duke foreſaw many difficulties in the executing this commiſſion. He could truſt ſuch an enterprize to no forces, except thoſe of her majeſty's own ſubjects. He conſidered the temper of the ſtates in this conjuncture, and was loth to divide a ſmall body of men, upon whoſe faithfulneſs alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expoſe them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had ſufficient reaſons to apprehend, that the Dutch would either not permit ſuch a detachment to paſs through their towns (as themſelves had more than hinted to him) or would ſeize them as they paſſed: beſides, the duke had very fairly ſignified to marechal de Villars, that he expected to be deſerted by all the foreign troops in her majeſty's pay, as ſoon as the armiſtice ſhould be declared; at which the marechal appearing extremely diſappointed, ſaid, 'the king 'his maſter reckoned, that all the troops under 'his grace's command ſhould yield to the ceſſati-

'on; and wondered how it ſhould come to paſs, 'thoſe who might be paid for lying ſtill, would 'rather chuſe, after a ten years war, to enter in-'to the ſervice of new maſters, under whom they 'muſt fight on for nothing.' In ſhort, the opinion of Monſ. Villars was, that this difficulty cancelled the promiſe of ſurrendering Dunkirk; which therefore he oppoſed as much as poſſible, in letters he writ to his court.

Upon the duke of Ormond's repreſenting thoſe difficulties, the queen altered her meaſures, and ordered forces to be ſent from England to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk. The duke was likewiſe commanded to tell the foreign generals in her majeſty's ſervice, how highly ſhe would reſent their deſertion; after which, their maſters muſt give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or ſubſidy. The lord privy-ſeal ſpoke the ſame language at Utrecht, to the ſeveral miniſters of the allies; as Mr. Secretary St. John did to thoſe who reſided here; adding, 'That the proceeding 'of the foreign troops would be looked upon as 'a declaration for or againſt her majeſty: and 'that, in caſe they deſert her ſervice, ſhe would 'look on herſelf as juſtified, before God and man, 'to continue her negociation at Utrecht, or any 'other place, whether the allies concur or not.'

And particularly the Dutch were aſſured, 'That 'if their maſters ſeduced the forces hired by the 'queen, they muſt take the whole pay, arrears, 'and ſubſidies on themſelves'

The earl of Strafford, preparing about this time to return to Utrecht, with inſtructions proper to the preſent ſituation of affairs, went firſt to the army, and there informed the duke of Ormond of her majeſty's intentions. He alſo acquainted the ſtates deputies with the queen's uneaſineſs, leſt, by the meaſures they were taking, they ſhould drive her to extremities, which ſhe deſired ſo much to avoid. He farther repreſented to them, in the plaineſt terms, the provocations her majeſty had received, and the grounds and reaſons for her preſent conduct. He likewiſe declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops, in the queen's pay, and in the joint pay of Britain and the ſtates, with how much ſurprize her majeſty had heard, 'That there was 'the leaſt doubt of their obeying the orders of 'the duke of Ormond; which, if they refuſed, 'her majeſty would eſteem it not only as an in-'dignity and affront, but as a declaration againſt 'her; and in ſuch a caſe, they muſt look on 'themſelves as no farther intitled either to any 'arrear, or future pay or ſubſidies.'

Six regiments, under the command of Mr Hill, were now preparing to embark, in order to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk; and the duke of Ormond, upon the firſt intelligence ſent him, that the French were ready to deliver the town, was to declare he could act no longer againſt France. The queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the ſtates. She let them plainly know, 'that their perpetual caballing with her factious 'ſubjects, againſt her authority, had forced her 'into ſuch meaſures, as otherwiſe ſhe would not 'have engaged in. However, her majeſty was 'willing yet to forget all that had paſſed, and to 'unite them in the ſtricteſt ties of amity, 'which ſhe hoped they would now do; ſince 'they could not but be convinced, by the late 'dutiful addreſſes of both houſes, how far their 'high mightineſſes had been deluded, and drawn 'in as inſtruments to ſerve the turn, and gratify the paſſions, of a diſaffected party: that 'their oppoſition, and want of concert with her 'majeſty's miniſters, which ſhe had ſo often invited them to, had encouraged France to except towns out of their barrier, which otherwiſe might have been yielded: that, however, 'ſhe had not precluded them or any other ally, 'from demanding more; and even her own

'terms were but conditional, upon ſuppoſition 'of a general peace to enſue: that her majeſty 'reſolved to act upon the plan laid down in her 'ſpeech;' and ſhe repeated the promiſe of her beſt offices to promote the intereſt of the ſtates, if they would deal ſincerely with her.

Some days before the duke of Ormond had notice, that orders were given for the ſurrender of Dunkirk, prince Eugene of Savoy ſent for the generals of the allies, and aſked them ſeverally, whether, in caſe the armies ſeparated, they would march with him, or ſtay with the duke? All of them, except two, who commanded but ſmall bodies, agreed to join with the prince; who thereupon, about three days after, ſent the duke word, that he intended to march the following day (as it was ſuppoſed) to beſiege Landrecy. The duke returned an anſwer, 'That he was 'ſurpriſed at the prince's meſſage, there having 'been not the leaſt previous concert with him, 'nor any mention in the meſſage, which way, 'or upon what deſign, the march was intended: 'therefore, that the duke could not reſolve to 'march with him; much leſs could the prince 'expect aſſiſtance from the queen's army, in any 'deſign undertaken after this manner.' The duke told this beforehand, that he (the prince)

might take his meaſures accordingly, and not attribute to her majeſty's general any misfortune that might happen.

On the ſixteenth of July, N. S. the ſeveral generals of the allies joined prince Eugene's army, and began their march, after taking leave of the duke and the earl of Strafford, whoſe expoſtulations could not prevail on them to ſtay; although the latter aſſured them, that the queen had made neither peace nor truce with France, and that her forces would not be left expoſed to the enemy.

The next day after this famous deſertion, the duke of Ormond received a letter from Monſ. de Villars, with an account, that the town and citadel of Dunkirk ſhould be delivered to Mr. Hill. Whereupon a ceſſation of arms was declared, by ſound of trumpet, at the head of the Britiſh army; which now conſiſted of about eighteen thouſand men, all of her majeſty's ſubjects, except the Holſteiners and count Wallis's dragoons. With this ſmall body of men the general began his march; and purſuant to orders from court, retired towards the ſea, in the manner he thought moſt convenient for the queen's ſervice. When he came as far as Flines, he was told by ſome of his officers, that the commandants of Bouchain,

Douay, Liſle, and Tournay, had refuſed them paſſage through thoſe towns, or even liberty of entrance, and ſaid it was by order of their maſters. The duke immediately recollected, that when the deputies firſt heard of this reſolution to withdraw his troops, they told him, they hoped he did not intend to march through their towns. This made him conclude, that the orders muſt be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the ſame treatment which his officers had done. He had likewiſe, before the armies ſeparated, received information of ſome deſigns that concerned the ſafety, or at leaſt the freedom of his own perſon, and (which he much more valued) that of thoſe few Britiſh troops intruſted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deſervedly beloved by his ſoldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to ſacrifice their lives in his ſervice; and whoſe reſentments were raiſed to the utmoſt, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deſerters.

Upon theſe provocations, he laid aſide all thoughts of returning to Dunkirk, and began to conſider how he might perform, in ſo difficult a conjuncture, ſomething important to the queen, and at the ſame time find a ſecure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communi-

cating it to any perſon whatſoever; and the diſpoſition of the army being to march towards Warneton, in the way to Dunkirk, he gave ſudden orders to lieutenant-general Cadogan to change his route, according to the military phraſe, and move towards Orchies, I town leading directly to Ghent.

When prince Eugene and the ſtates deputies received news of the duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmoſt degree, and ſent count Naſſau, of Wordenburg, to the general's camp near Orchies, to excuſe what had been done, and to aſſure his grace, that thoſe commandants, who had refuſed paſſage to his officers, had acted wholly without orders. Count Hempſeck, one of the Dutch generals, came likewiſe to the duke with the ſame ſtory; but all this made little impreſſion on the general, who held on his march, and on the twenty third of July, N. S. entered Ghent, where he was received with great ſubmiſſion by the inhabitants, and took poſſeſſion of the town, as he likewiſe did of Bruges, a few days after.

The duke of Ormond thought, that conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the ſtates towards Britain, it might be neceſſary for the queen to have ſome pledge from that republic in her hands, as well as from France, by which means her ma-

jeſty would be impowered to act that part that became her, of being mediator at leaſt: that while Ghent was in the queen's hands, no proviſions could paſs the Scheld or the Lis, without permiſſion, by which he had it in his power to ſtarve their army. The poſſeſſion of theſe towns might likewiſe teach the Dutch and Imperialiſts, to preſerve a degree of decency and civility to her majeſty, which both of them were, upon ſome occaſions, too apt to forget: and beſides, there was already in the town of Ghent, a battalion of Britiſh troops and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition ſtores for the ſervice of the war, which would certainly have been ſeized or embezzled; ſo that no ſervice could be more ſeaſonable or uſeful in the preſent juncture than this, which the queen highly approved, and left the duke a diſcretionary power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little intercepted the order of time, in relating the duke of Ormond's proceedings, who, after having placed a garriſon at Bruges, and ſent a ſupply of men and ammunition to Dunkirk, retired to Ghent, where he continued ſome months, till he had leave to return to England.

Upon the arrival of colonel Diſney to court,

with an account that Mr. Hill had taken poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, an univerſal joy ſpread over the kingdom, this event being looked on as the certain fore-runner of a peace: beſides, the French faith was in ſo ill a reputation among us, that many perſons, otherwiſe ſanguine enough, could never bring themſelves to believe, that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the miniſters themſelves altogether at eaſe, or free from ſuſpicion, whatever countenance they made: for they knew very well, that the French king had many plauſible reaſons to elude his promiſe, if he found cauſe to repent it. One condition of ſurrendering Dunkirk, being a general armiſtice of all the troops in the Britiſh pay, which her majeſty was not able to perform; and upon this failure, the marechal de Villars (as we have before related) endeavoured to diſſuade this court from accepting the conditions: and in the very interval, while thoſe difficulties were adjuſting, the marechal de Huxelles, one of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht (whoſe inclinations, as well as thoſe of his colleague Monſ. Meſnager, led him to favour the ſtates more than Britain) aſſured the lord privy ſeal, that the Dutch were then preſſing to enter into ſeparate meaſure with

his maſter: and his lordſhip, in a viſit to the abbe de Polignac, obſerving a perſon to withdraw as he entered the abbe's chamber, was told by this miniſter, that the perſon he ſaw was one Moleau, of Amſterdam, mentioned before, a famous agent for the ſtates with France, who had been entertaining him (the abbe) upon the ſame ſubject, but that he had refuſed to treat with Moleau, without the privity of England.

Mr. Harley, whom we mentioned above to have been ſent early in the ſpring to Utrecht, continued longer in Holland than was at firſt expected; but having received her majeſty's farther inſtructions, was about this time arrived at Hanover. It was the misfortune of his electoral highneſs, to be very ill ſerved by Monſ. Bothmar, his envoy here, who aſſiſted at all the factious meetings of the diſcontented party, and deceived his maſter by a falſe repreſentation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of thoſe to whom he confined his converſation. There was likewiſe at the elector's court a little Frenchman, without any merit or conſequence, called Robithan, who, by the aſſiſtance and encouragement of the laſt miniſtry, had inſinuated himſelf into ſome degree of that prince's favour, which he uſed in giving his maſter

the worſt impreſſions he was able, of thoſe whom the queen employed in her ſervice; inſinuating, that the preſent miniſters were not in the intereſt of his highneſs's family; that their views were towards the pretender; that they were making an unſecure and diſhonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was againſt them; and that it was impoſſible for them to preſerve much longer their credit or power.

The earl Rivers had, in the foregoing years, been ſent to Hanover, in order to undeceive the elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infuſed into his highneſs againſt her majeſty's proceedings; but it ſhould ſeem, that he had no very great ſucceſs in his negociation: for ſoon after his return to England, Monſ. Bothmar's memorial appeared in the manner I have already related, which diſcovered the ſentiments of his electoral highneſs (if they were truly repreſented in that memorial) to differ not a little from thoſe of the queen. Mr. Harley was therefore directed to take the firſt opportunity of ſpeaking to the elector in private, to aſſure him, 'That although 'her majeſty had thought herſelf provoked by 'the conduct of his miniſter, yet ſuch was her

'affection for his highneſs, and concern for the 'intereſts of his family, that inſtead of ſhewing 'the leaſt mark of reſentment, ſhe had choſen 'to ſend him (Mr. Harley) fully inſtructed to 'open her deſigns, and ſhew his highneſs the 'real intereſt of Britain in the preſent conjunc-'ture.' Mr. Harley was to give the elector a true account of what had paſſed in England, during the firſt part of this ſeſſion of parliament; to expoſe to his highneſs the weakneſs of thoſe with whom his miniſters had conſulted, and under whoſe directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that faction muſt become, when a peace ſhould be concluded, and when the natural ſtrength of the kingdom, diſincumbered from the burden of the war, ſhould be at liberty to exert itſelf; that his highneſs had been hitherto a friend to both ſides, but that the meaſures taken by his miniſters, had tended only to ſet him at the head of one in oppoſition to the other: to explain to the elector, how fully the ſafety of Europe was provided for by the plan of peace in her majeſty's ſpeech; and how little reaſon thoſe would appear to have, who complained the loudeſt of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the

war, or with their performances in the courſe of it.

Upon this occaſion Mr. Harley was to obſerve to the elector, 'That it ſhould rather be wonder-'ed at, how the queen had brought France to 'offer ſo much, than yet to offer no more; be-'cauſe, as ſoon as ever it appeared, that her ma-'jeſty would be at the head of this treaty, and 'that the intereſts of Britain were to be provid-'ed for, ſuch endeavours were uſed to break off 'the negociation, as are hardly to be paralleled; 'and the diſunion thereby created among the al-'lies, had given more opportunities to the ene-'my of being ſlow in their conceſſions, than any 'other meaſures might poſſibly have done: that 'this want of concert among the allies, could 'not in any ſort be imputed to the queen, who 'had all along invited them to it with the great-'eſt earneſtneſs, as the ſureſt means to bring 'France to reaſon: that ſhe had always, in a 'particular manner, preſſed the ſtates-general to 'come into the ſtricteſt union with her, and o-'pened to them her intentions with the greateſt 'freedom; but finding that inſtead of concurring 'with her majeſty, they were daily carrying on 'intrigues to break off the negociation, and 'thereby deprive her of the advantages ſhe

'might juſtly expect from the enſuing peace, 'having no other way left, ſhe was forced to act 'with France as ſhe did, by herſelf: that, how-'ever the queen had not taken upon herſelf to 'determine the intereſt of the allies, who were 'at liberty of inſiſting on farther pretenſi-'ons, wherein her majeſty would not be want-'ing to ſupport them as far as ſhe was able, and 'improve the conceſſions already made by France: 'in which caſe, a good underſtanding and har-'mony among the confederates would yet be 'of the greateſt uſe for making the enemy more 'tractable and eaſy.'

I have been more particular in reciting the ſubſtance of Mr. Harley's inſtructions, becauſe it will ſerve as a recapitulation of what I have already ſaid upon this ſubject, and ſeems to ſet her majeſty's intentions, and proceedings at this time, in the cleareſt light.

After the ceſſation of arms declared by the duke of Ormond, upon the delivery of Dunkirk, the Britiſh plenipotentiaries very earneſtly preſſed thoſe of Holland to come into a general armiſtice; for if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the beſt means for bringing the common enemy to reaſonable terms of peace: but the ſtates, deluded by the boundleſs

promiſes of count Zinzendorf, and the undertaking talent of prince Eugene, who dreaded the concluſion of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a ceſſation. The loſs of eighteen thouſand Britons was not a diminution of weight in the balance of ſuch an ally as the emperor, and ſuch a general as the prince. Beſides, they looked upon themſelves to be ſtill ſuperior to France in the field; and although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the concluſion drawn from it, was grounded upon a great miſtake. I have been aſſured by ſeveral perſons of our own country, and ſome foreigners of the firſt rank, both for ſkill and ſtation in arms, that in moſt victories obtained in the preſent war, the Britiſh troops were ever employed in the poſt of danger and honour, and uſually began the attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearleſs than the people of any other country) by which they were not only an example of courage to the reſt, but muſt be acknowleged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day; ſince it is known enough, how ſmall a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewiſe be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The French, by their frequent loſſes,

which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a Britiſh general, at the head of Britiſh troops, was not to be overcome; and the marechal de Villars was quickly ſenſible of the advantage he had got; for in a very few days after the deſertion of the allies, happened the earl of Albemarle's diſgrace at Denain, by a feint of the marechal's, and a manifeſt failure ſomewhere or other, both of courage and conduct on the ſide of the confederates. The blame of which was equally ſhared between prince Eugene and the earl; although it is certain, the duke of Ormond gave the latter timely warning of his danger, obſerving he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges ſufficient for the ſituation he was in, and at ſuch a diſtance from the main army.

The marquis de Torcy had likewiſe the ſame ſentiments, of what mighty conſequence thoſe few Britiſh battalions were to the confederate army; ſince he adviſed his maſter to deliver up Dunkirk, although the queen could not perform the condition underſtood, which was a ceſſation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It muſt be owned, that Monſ. de Torcy made great merit of this confidence that his maſter placed in the queen; and obſerving her majeſty's

diſpleaſure againſt the Dutch on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enough; inſinuating, that ſince the ſtates had acted ſo ungratefully, the queen ſhould let her forces join with thoſe of France, in order to compel the confederates to a peace. But although this overture was very tenderly hinted from the French court, her majeſty heard it with the utmoſt abhorrence; and ordered her ſecretary, Mr St. John (created about this time viſcount Bolingbroke,) to tell Monſ. de Torcy, 'That no 'provocations whatever ſhould tempt her to di-'ſtreſs her allies; but ſhe would endeavour to 'bring them to reaſon by fair means, or leave 'them to their own conduct: that if the former 'ſhould be found impracticable, ſhe would then 'make her own peace, and content herſelf with 'doing the office of a mediator between both 'parties: but if the ſtates ſhould at any time 'come to a better mind, and ſuffer their mini-'ſters to act in conjunction with her's, ſhe would 'aſſert their juſt intereſts to the utmoſt, and 'make no farther progreſs in any treaty with 'France, until thoſe allies received all reaſonable 'ſatisfaction, both as to their barrier and their 'trade.' The Britiſh plenipotentiaries were directed to give the ſame aſſurances to the Dutch

miniſters at Utrecht, and withal to let them know, 'That the queen was determined, by 'their late conduct, to make peace either with 'or without them; but would much rather 'chuſe the former.'

There was, however, one advantage which her majeſty reſolved to make by this defection of her foreigners. She had been led, by the miſtaken politics of ſome years paſt, to involve herſelf in ſeveral guaranties with the princes of the north, which were, in ſome ſort, contradictory to one another; but this conduct of theirs wholly annulled all ſuch engagements, and left her at liberty to interpoſe in the affairs of thoſe parts of Europe, in ſuch a manner as would beſt ſerve the intereſts of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the proteſtant religion, and ſettle a due balance of power in the north.

The grand article for preventing the union of France and Spain, was to be executed during a ceſſation of arms. But many difficulties ariſing about that, and ſome other points of great importance to the common cauſe, which could not eaſily be adjuſted either between the French and Britiſh plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, or by correſpondence between Monſ. de Torcy and the miniſtry here; the queen took the reſoluti-

on of ſending the lord viſcount Bolingbroke immediately to France, fully inſtructed in all her intentions, and authoriſed to negociate every thing neceſſary for ſettling the treaty of peace in ſuch a courſe, as might bring it to a happy and ſpeedy concluſion. He was impowered to agree to a general ſuſpenſion of arms, by ſea and land, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, to continue for four months, or until the concluſion of the peace; provided France and Spain would previouſly give poſitive aſſurances to make good the terms demanded by her majeſty for the duke of Savoy, and would likewiſe adjuſt and determine the forms of the ſeveral renunciations to be made by both thoſe crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The lord Bolingbroke was likewiſe authoriſed to ſettle ſome differences relating to the elector of Bavaria, for whoſe intereſts France was not ſo much concerned as her majeſty was for theſe of the duke of Savoy; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of Britain; to know the real ultimation, as it is termed, of France upon the general plan of peace; and laſtly, to cut off all hopes from that court of ever bringing the queen to force her allies to a diſadvantageous

peace; her majeſty reſolving to impoſe no ſcheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the beſt conditions they could.

The lord Bolingbroke went to France in the beginning of Auguſt, was received at court with particular marks of diſtinction and reſpect; and in a very few days, by his uſual addreſs and ability, performed every part of his commiſſion, extremely to the queen's content and his own honour. He returned to England before the end of the month; but Mr. Prior, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjuſt whatever differences might remain or ariſe between the two crowns.

In the mean time the general conferences at Utrecht, which for ſeveral weeks had been let fall, ſince the delivery of Dunkirk, were now reſumed. But the Dutch ſtill declaring againſt a ſuſpenſion of arms, and refuſing to accept the queen's ſpeech as a plan to negociate upon, there was no progreſs made for ſome time in the great work of peace. Whereupon the Britiſh plenipotentiaries told thoſe of the ſtates, 'That if the 'queen's endeavours could not procure more 'than the contents of her ſpeech, or if the French 'ſhould ever fall ſhort of what was there offered,

'the Dutch could blame none but themſelves, 'who, by their conduct, had rendered things 'difficult, that would otherwiſe have been eaſy.'

However, her majeſty thought it prudent to keep the ſtates ſtill in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the deſperate courſe of leaving themſelves wholly at the mercy of France; which was an expedient they formerly practiſed, and which a party among them was now inclined to adviſe.

Whilſt the congreſs at Utrecht remained in this inactive ſtate, the queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of France and Spain. It was propoſed and accepted, that Philip ſhould renounce France, for himſelf and his poſterity; and that the moſt Chriſtian king, and all the princes of his blood, ſhould, in the like manner, renounce Spain.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great diſrepute, by the former practices of this very king, Lewis XIV. purſuant to an abſurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right, annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain, the French themſelves had recourſe to this method, after all their infractions

of it, ſince the Pyrenean treaty; for the firſt dauphin, in whom the original claim was veſted, renounced, for himſelf and his eldeſt ſon, which opened the way to Philip duke of Anjou; who would however hardly have ſucceeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the laſt king, Charles II.

It is indeed hard to reflect, with any patience, upon the unaccountable ſtupidity of the princes of Europe for ſome centuries paſt, who left a probability to France of ſucceeding in a few ages to all their dominions; whilſt, at the ſame time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reaſon of the Salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every ſovereign in Chriſtendom to enact a Salique law, with reſpect to France; for want of which, it is almoſt a miracle, that the Bourbon family hath not poſſeſſed the univerſal monarchy by right of inheritance? When the French aſſert a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as ſome of their miniſters, who ought to be more wiſe or honeſt, have lately advanced in this very caſe, to the title of Spain; do they not, by allowing a French ſucceſſion, make their own kings uſurpers? Or, if the Salique law be divine, is it not of univerſal

obligation, and conſequently of force, to exclude France from inheriting by daughters? or, laſtly, if that law be of human inſtitution, may it not be enacted in any ſtate, with whatever extent or limitation the legiſlature ſhall think fit? For the notion of an unchangeable human law is an abſurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and ſupported by power. From hence it follows, that the children of the late queen of France, although ſhe had renounced, were as legally excluded from ſucceeding in Spain, as if the ſalique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; ſince that excluſion was eſtabliſhed by every power in Spain, which could poſſibly give a ſanction to any law there; and therefore the duke of Anjou's title is wholly founded upon the bequeſt of his predeceſſor (which hath great authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in our's), upon the confirmation of the Cortes, and the general conſent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is ſo frequently ſubſervient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwiſe than from the powers and parties whoſe intereſt it is to ſupport them. But this renunciation, which the queen hath exacted from the French king and his grandſon, I take it to be armed with all the eſſential

circumſtances that can fortify ſuch an act. For as it is neceſſary, for the ſecurity of every prince in Europe, that theſe two great kingdoms ſhould never be united; ſo the chief among them will readily conſent to be guarantees for preventing ſuch a misfortune.

Beſides, this propoſal (according to her majeſty's expreſſion in her ſpeech) is of ſuch a nature, that it executes itſelf; becauſe the Spaniards, who dread ſuch an union, for every reaſon that can have weight among men, took care that their king ſhould not only renounce, in the moſt ſolemn manner; but likewiſe, that the act ſhould be framed in the ſtrongeſt terms themſelves could invent, or we could furniſh them with. As to France, upon ſuppoſal of the young dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war againſt a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the Spaniards, and the party of the duke of Berry, or whoever elſe ſhall be next claimer; and the longer the preſent dauphin lives, the weaker muſt Philip's intereſt be in France; becauſe the princes, who are to ſucceed by this renunciation, will have moſt power and credit in the kingdom.

The miſchiefs occaſioned by the want of a good underſtanding between the allies, eſpecially Bri-

tain and Holland, were raiſed every day; the French taking the advantage, and raiſing difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but likewiſe upon the explanation of ſeveral articles in the projected treaty between them and her majeſty: they inſiſted to have Liſle, as the equivalent for Dunkirk; and demanded Tournay, Maubeuge, and Conde, for the two or three towns mentioned in the queen's ſpeech; which the plenipotentiaries were ſo far from allowing, that they refuſed to confer with thoſe of France upon that foot; although, at the ſame time, the former had freſh apprehenſions that the Dutch, in a fit of deſpair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleaſed to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her majeſty from obtaining any advantages, both for her allies and herſelf.

It is moſt certain, that the repeated loſſes ſuffered by the ſtates, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themſelves from the queen's aſſiſtance, did wholly diſconcert their councils; and their prudence (as it is uſual) began to forſake them with their good fortune. They were ſo weak as to be ſtill deluded by their friends in England, who continued to give them hopes of ſome mighty and immediate reſource

from hence; for when the duke of Ormond had been about a month in Ghent, he received a letter from the marechal de Villars, to inform him, that the Dutch generals, taken at Denain, had told the marechal publickly, of a ſudden revolution expected in Britain; that particularly the earl of Albemarle and Monſ. Hompeſch diſcourſed very freely of it, and that nothing was more commonly talked of in Holland. It was then likewiſe confidently reported in Ghent, that the queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour flew about here at the very ſame time, as if her majeſty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether ſuch vain hopes as theſe gave ſpirit to the Dutch; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and ſullen; whether they ſtill expected to over-reach us by ſome private ſtipulations with France, through the mediation of the elector of Bavaria, as that prince afterwards gave out; or whatever elſe was the cauſe, they utterly refuſed a ceſſation of arms; and made not the leaſt return to all the advances and invitations made by her majeſty, until the cloſe of the campaign.

It was then the ſtates firſt began to view their affairs in another light; to conſider how little the vaſt promiſes of count Zinzendorf were to be re-

lied on; to be convinced that France was not diſpoſed to break with her majeſty, only to gratify their ill-humour, or unreaſonable demands; to diſcover that their factious correſpondents on this ſide the water, had ſhamefully miſled them; that ſome of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans, and, laſtly, that prince Eugene, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their miniſters at Utrecht to ſignify to the lord privy-ſeal and the earl of Strafford, 'That the 'ſtates were diſpoſed to comply with her majeſ-'ty, and to deſire her good offices with France; 'particularly, that Tournay and Conde might 'be left to them as part of their barrier, without 'which they could not be ſafe: that the elector 'of Bavaria might not be ſuffered to retain any 'town in the Netherlands, which would be as 'bad for Holland as if thoſe places were in the 'hands of France: therefore the ſtates propoſed, 'that Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, and 'Nieuport, might be delivered to the emperor. 'Laſtly, That the French might not inſiſt on 'excepting the four ſpecies of goods out of the 'tariff of 1664: that if her majeſty could pre-'vail with France to ſatisfy their maſters on theſe

'articles, they would be ready to ſubmit in all 'the reſt.'

When the queen received an account of this good diſpoſition in the ſtates-general, immediately orders were ſent to Mr. Prior, to inform the miniſters of the French court, 'That her 'majeſty had now ſome hopes of the Dutch com-'plying with her meaſures; and therefore ſhe re-'ſolved, as ſhe had always declared, whenever 'thoſe allies came to themſelves, not to make 'the peace without their reaſonable ſatisfaction.' The difficulty that moſt preſſed, was about the diſpoſal of Tournay and Conde. The Dutch inſiſted ſtrongly to have both, and the French were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The queen judged the former would ſuffice, for completing the barrier of the ſtates. Mr. Prior was therefore directed to preſs the marquis de Torcy effectually on this head, and to terminate all that miniſter's objections, by aſſuring him of her majeſty's reſolutions to appear openly on the ſide of the Dutch, if this demand were refuſed. It was thought convenient to act in this reſolute manner with France, whoſe late ſucceſs, againſt Holland, had taught the miniſters of the moſt chriſtian king to reſume their old imperious manner of treating with that republic; to which they

were farther encouraged by the ill underſtanding between her majeſty and the allies.

This appeared from the reſult of an idle quarrel that happened, about the end of Auguſt, at Utrecht, between a French and a Dutch plenipotentiary, Monſ. Meſnager and Count Rechteren; wherein the court of France demanded ſuch abject ſubmiſſions, and with ſo much haughtineſs, as plainly ſhewed they were pleaſed with any occaſion of mortifying the Dutch.

Beſides, the politics of the French ran at this time very oppoſite to thoſe of Britain: they thought the miniſters here durſt not meet the parliament without a peace; and that, therefore, her majeſty would either force the ſtates to comply with France, by delivering up Tournay, which was the principal point in diſpute, or would finiſh her own peace with France and Spain, leaving a fixed time for Holland to refuſe or accept the terms impoſed on them. But the queen, who thought the demand of Tournay by the ſtates to be very neceſſary and juſt, was determined to inſiſt upon it, and to declare openly againſt France, rather than ſuffer her ally to want a place ſo uſeful for their barrier. And Mr. Prior was ordained to ſignify this reſolution of her

majeſty to Monſ. de Torcy, in caſe that miniſter could not be otherwiſe prevailed on.

The Britiſh plenipotentiaries did likewiſe, at the ſame time, expreſs to thoſe of Holland her majeſty's great ſatisfaction, that the ſtates were at laſt diſpoſed to act in confidence with her: "That ſhe wiſhed this reſolution had been ſooner taken, ſince nobody had gained by the delay, but the French king; that, however, her majeſty did not queſtion the procuring a ſafe and honourable peace, by uniting councils, reaſonable demands, and prudent meaſures; that ſhe would aſſiſt them in getting whatever was neceſſary to their barrier, and in ſettling, to their ſatisfaction, the exceptions made by France out of the tariff of 1664; that no other difficulties remained of moment to retard the peace, ſince the queen had obtained Sicily for the duke of Savoy; and, in the ſettlement of the Low-Countries, would adhere to what ſhe delivered from the throne: that as to the empire, her majeſty heartily wiſhed their barrier as good as could be deſired; but that we were not now in circumſtances to expect every thing exactly according to the ſcheme of Holland: France had already offered a great part, and the queen did not think the remainder worth the continuance of the war."

Her majeſty conceived the peace in ſo much forwardneſs, that ſhe thought fit, about this time, to nominate the duke of Hamilton and the lord Lexington for ambaſſadors in France and Spain, to receive the renunciations in both courts, and adjuſt matters of commerce.

The duke was preparing for his journey, when he was challenged to a duel by the lord Mohun, a perſon of infamous character. He killed his adverſary upon the ſpot, though he himſelf received a wound; and, weakened by the loſs of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his ſecond, was moſt barbarouſly ſtabbed in the breaſt by lieutenant-general Macartney, who was ſecond to lord Mohun. He died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his eſcape. I thought ſo ſurpriſing an event might deſerve barely to be related, although it be ſomething foreign to my ſubject.

The earl of Strafford, who had come to England in laſt, in order to give her majeſty an account of the diſpoſition of affairs in Holland, was now returning with her laſt inſtructions, to let the Dutch miniſters know, 'That ſome points 'would probably meet with difficulties not to 'be overcome, which once might have been ea-'ſily obtained: to ſhew what evil conſequences

'had already flowed from their delay and irre-
'ſolution, and to intreat them to fix on ſome
'propoſition, reaſonable in itſelf, as well as poſ-
'ſible to be effected: that the queen would in-
'ſiſt upon the ceſſion of Tournay by France, provid-
'ed the ſtates would concur in finiſhing the peace,
'without ſtarting new objections, or inſiſting
'upon farther points: that the French demands,
'in favour of the elector of Bavaria, appeared
'to be ſuch as, the queen was of opinion, the
'ſtates ought to agree to; which were to leave
'the elector in poſſeſſion of Luxembourg, Na-
'mure, and Charleroy, ſubject to the terms of
'their barrier, until he ſhould be reſtored to his
'electorate; and to give him the kingdom of
'Sardinia to efface the ſtain of his degradation in
'the electoral college: that the earl had brought
'over a project of a new treaty of ſucceſſion and
'barrier, which her majeſty inſiſted the ſtates
'ſhould ſign, before the concluſion of the peace;
'the former treaty having been diſadvantageous
'to her ſubjects, containing in it the ſeeds of
'future diſſenſions, and condemned by the ſenſe
'of the nation. Laſtly, that her majeſty, not-
'withſtanding all provocations, had, for the
'ſake of the Dutch, and in hopes of their reco-
'very from thoſe falſe notions which had ſo long

'miſled them, hitherto kept the negociations o-
'pen: that the offers now made them were her
'laſt, and this the laſt time ſhe would apply to
'them: that they muſt either agree, or expect
'the queen would proceed immediately to con-
'clude her treaty with France and Spain, in con-
'junction with ſuch of her allies as would think
'fit to adhere to her.

'As to Savoy, that the queen expected the
'ſtates would concur with her in making good
'the advantages ſtipulated for that duke, and in
'prevailing with the emperor to conſent to an
'abſolute neutrality in Italy, until the peace
'ſhould be concluded.'

The governing party in Holland, however in appearance diſpoſed to finiſh, affected new delays, and raiſed many difficulties about the four ſpecies of goods, which the French had excepted out of the tariff. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was poſſible to keep up this humour in the Dutch, in hopes to put them under a neceſſity of preparing for the next campaign; and ſometime after went ſo far in this purſuit, that he ſummoned the ſeveral miniſters of the empire, told them he had letters from his maſter, with orders to ſignify to them, 'That
'his imperial majeſty reſolved to begin the cam-

'paign early, with all his forces united againſt 'France; of which he deſired they would ſend 'notice to all their courts, that the ſeveral prin-'ces might be ready to furniſh their contingents 'and recruits.' At the ſame time Zinzendorf endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the ſecurity of ſome imperial cities; but could not ſucceed either amongſt the Jews, or at Amſterdam.

When the earl of Strafford arrived at Utrecht, the lord privy-ſeal and he communicated to the Dutch miniſters the new treaty for a ſucceſſion and barrier, as the queen had ordered it to be prepared here in England, differing from the former in ſeveral points of the greateſt moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed for ſeveral weeks by the plenipotentiaries of the ſtates; but the province of Utrecht, where the congreſs was held, immediately ſent order to their repreſentatives at the Hague, to declare their province thankful to the queen; that they agreed the peace ſhould be made on the terms propoſed by France, and conſented to the new projected treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion: and about the year 1712, four of the ſeven provinces, had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unuſual precipitation in the ſtates, ſo different from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much ſuſpected by the Britiſh plenipotentiaries. Their lordſhips had received intelligence, that the Dutch miniſters held frequent conferences with thoſe of France, and had offered to ſettle their intereſts with that crown, without the concurrence of Britain. Count Zinzendorf, and his colleagues, appeared likewiſe, all on a ſudden, to have the ſame diſpoſitions, and to be in great haſte to ſettle their ſeveral differences with the ſtates. The reaſons for this proceeding were viſible enough; many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her majeſty and France, for the adjuſting of which, and ſome other points, the queen had lately diſpached the duke of Shrewſbury to that court. Some of theſe were of hard digeſtion, with which the Chriſtian king would not be under a neceſſity of complying, when he had no farther occaſion for us, and might, upon that account, afford better terms to the other two powers. Beſides the emperor and the ſtates could very well ſpare her majeſty the honour of being arbitrator of the general peace; and the latter hoped by this means, to avoid the new

treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the conſequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident which the two lords at Utrecht knew well to make uſe of: the quarrel between Monſ. Meſnager and count Rechteren (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The French and Dutch differing in ſome circumſtances, about the ſatisfaction to be given by the count for the affront he had offered, the Britiſh plenipotentiaries kept this diſpute on foot for ſeveral days; and, in the mean time, preſſed the Dutch to finiſh the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion between her majeſty and them, which, about the middle of January, was concluded fully to the queen's ſatisfaction.

But while theſe debates and differences continued at the congreſs, the queen reſolved to put a ſpeedy end to her part in the war; ſhe therefore ſent orders to the lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Stafford, to prepare every thing neceſſary for ſigning her own treaty with France. This ſhe hoped might be done againſt the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of February; in which time, thoſe among the allies, who were really inclined towards a peace, might ſettle their ſeveral intereſts by the aſſiſt-

ance and ſupport of her majeſty's plenipotentiaries; and as for the reſt, who would either refuſe to comply, or endeavour to protract the negociation, the heads of their reſpective demands, which France had yielded by her majeſty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her ſpeech, ſhould be mentioned in the treaty, and a time limited for the ſeveral powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The pretender was not yet gone out of France, upon ſome difficulties alledged by the French, about procuring him a ſafe conduct to Bar-le duc, in the duke of Lorrain's dominions, where it was then propoſed he ſhould reſide. The queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her ſubjects, declared, ſhe would not ſign the peace till that perſon were removed; although ſeveral wiſe men believed he could be no where leſs dangerous to Britain, than in the place where he was.

The argument which moſt prevailed on the ſtates to ſign the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion with Britain, was her majeſty's promiſe to procure Tournay from them from France; after which, no more differences remained between us and that republic, and conſequently they had no farther temptations to any ſeparate

tranſactions with the French, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the Dutch. The ſatisfaction they extorted for the affront given by count Rechteren to Monſ. Meſnager, although ſomewhat ſoftened by the Britiſh miniſters at Utrecht, was yet ſo rigorous, that her majeſty could not forbear ſignifying her reſentment of it to the moſt Chriſtian king. Monſ. Meſnager, who ſeemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a miniſter, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the ſtates, to raiſe new diſputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly ſettled. The abbe de Polignac, a moſt accompliſhed perſon, of great generoſity and univerſal underſtanding, was gone to France to receive the cardinal's cap; and the marechal de Huxelles was wholly guided by his colleague, Monſ. Meſnager, who kept up thoſe brangles, that for a time obſtructed the peace; ſome of which were againſt all juſtice, and others of ſmall importance, both of very little advantage to his country, and leſs to the reputation of his maſter or himſelf. This low talent in buſineſs, which the cardinal de Polignac uſed, in contempt, to call a *ſpirit of negociating*, made it impoſſible for the two lords, plenipotentiaries, with all their

abilities and experience, to bring Meſnager to reaſon, in ſeveral points both with us and the ſtates: his conceſſions were few and conſtrained, ſerving only to render him more tenacious of what he refuſed. In ſeveral of the towns, which the ſtates were to keep, he inſiſted that France ſhould retain the chatellanies, or extent of country depending on them, particularly that of Tournay; a demand the more unjuſtifiable, becauſe he knew his maſter had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended the territories about thoſe towns he had taken, as far as he pleaſed to direct them. Monſ. Meſnager ſhewed equal obſtinacy in what his maſter expected for the elector of Bavaria, and in refuſing the tariff of 1664: ſo that the queen's plenipotentiaries repreſented theſe difficulties as what might be of dangerous conſequence, both to the peace in general, and to the ſtates in particular, if they were not ſpeedily prevented.

Upon theſe conſiderations her majeſty thought it her ſhorteſt and ſafeſt courſe to apply directly to France, where ſhe had then ſo able a miniſter as the duke of Shrewſbury.

The marquiſs de Torcy, ſecretary to the moſt Chriſtian king, was the miniſter with whom the

duke was to treat, as having been the firſt who moved his maſter to apply to the queen for a peace, in oppoſition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war, as any other could be either here or in Holland.

It would be very unlike an hiſtorian, to refuſe this great miniſter the praiſe he ſo juſtly deſerveth, of having treated, through the whole courſe of ſo great a negociation, with the utmoſt candour and integrity; never once failing in any promiſe he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his maſter's intereſt, with a ready compliance to what was reaſonable and juſt. Mr. Prior, whom I have formerly mentioned, reſided likewiſe now at Paris, with the character of miniſter-plenipotentiary, and was very acceptable to that court, upon the ſcore of his wit and humour.

The duke of Shrewſbury was directed to preſs the French court upon the points yet unſettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns; to make them drop their unreaſonable demands for the elector of Bavaria; to let them know, that the queen was reſolved not to forſake her allies who were now ready to come in; that ſhe thought the beſt way of haſtening the general peace, was to determine her own particular one

with France, until which time ſhe could not conveniently ſuffer her parliament to meet.

The ſtates were, by this time, ſo fully convinced of the queen's ſincerity and affection to their republic, and how much they had been deceived by the inſinuations of the factious party in England, that they wrote a very humble letter to her majeſty, to deſire her aſſiſtance towards ſettling thoſe points they had in diſpute with France, and profeſſing themſelves ready to acquieſce in whatever explanation her majeſty would pleaſe to make of the plan propoſed in her ſpeech to the parliament.

But the queen had already prevented their deſires; and in the beginning of February, 1712-13, directed the duke of Shrewſbury to inform the French court, 'That ſince ſhe had prevailed upon her allies, the Dutch to drop the demands of Conde, and the other of the four ſpecies of goods, which the French had excepted out of the tariff of 1664, ſhe would not ſign without them: that ſhe approved of the Dutch inſiſting to have the chatellanies reſtored, with the towns, and was reſolved to ſtand or fall with them, until they were ſatisfied in this point'

Her majeſty had ſome apprehenſions, that the French created theſe difficulties on purpoſe to

ſpin out the treaty, until the campaign ſhould begin. They thought it abſolutely neceſſary, that our parliament ſhould meet in a few weeks, which could not well be ventured, until the queen were able to tell both houſes, that her own peace was ſigned: that this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between Britain and France, but leave the Dutch entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The queen, weary of theſe refined miſtakes in the French politics, and fully reſolved to be trifled with no longer, ſent her determined orders to the duke of Shrewſbury, to let France know, 'that her majeſty had hitherto prorogued her 'parliament, in hopes of accommodating the difficulties in her own treaties of peace and commerce with that crown, as well as ſettling the 'intereſts of her ſeveral allies; or, at leaſt, that 'the differences in the former being removed, 'the moſt Chriſtian king would have made ſuch 'offers for the latter, as might juſtify her majeſty in ſigning her own peace, whether the 'confederates intended to ſign their's or no. But 'ſeveral points being yet unfiniſhed between both 'crowns, and others between France and the 'reſt of the allies, eſpecially the ſtates, to which 'the plenipotentiaries of that court at Utrecht

'had not thought fit to give ſatisfaction; the 'queen was now come to a final determination, 'both with relation to her own kingdoms, and 'to the whole alliance: that the campaign ap-'proaching, ſhe would not willingly be ſurpriſ-'ed in caſe the war was to go on: that ſhe had 'tranſmitted to the duke of Shrewſbury her laſt 'reſolutions, and never would be prevailed on to 'reduced her own demands, or thoſe of her al-'lies, any lower than the ſcheme now ſent over, 'as an explanation of the plan laid down in her 'ſpeech: that her majeſty had ſent orders to her 'plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, to aſſume the cha-'racter of ambaſſadors, and ſign the peace imme-'diately with the moſt Chriſtian king, as ſoon as 'the duke of Shrewſbury ſhould have ſent them 'notice that the French had complied: that the 'queen had therefore farther prorogued her par-'liament to the third of March, in hopes to aſ-'ſure them, by that time, of her peace being a-'greed on; for if the two houſes ſhould meet, 'while any uncertainty remained, ſupplies muſt 'be aſked as for a war.'

The duke of Shrewſbury executed this import-ant commiſſion with that ſpeed and ſucceſs, which could only be expected from an able miniſter. The French king immediately yielded to the

whole ſcheme her majeſty propoſed; whereupon directions were ſent to the lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Strafford, to ſign a peace between Great Britain and France, without delay.

Upon the ſecond day of March, the two Britiſh plenipotentiaries met thoſe of the allies in the town-houſe at Utrecht; where the lord privy-ſeal addreſſed himſelf to them in a ſhort ſpeech, 'That the negociation had now continued four-'teen months with great ſlowneſs, which had 'proved very injurious to the intereſts of the al-'lies: that the queen had ſtaid thus long, and 'ſtopped the finiſhing her own peace, rather 'than leave her allies in any uncertainty: that 'ſhe hoped they would now be all prepared to 'put an end to this great work; and therefore 'had commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell 'thoſe allies, that ſhe found it neceſſary to con-'clude her own treaty immediately; and it was 'her opinion, that the confederates ought to 'finiſh theirs at the ſame time, to which they 'were now accordingly invited by her majeſty's 'orders.' And laſtly, his lordſhip declared, in the queen's name, 'That whoever could not be 'ready on the day prefixed, ſhould have a con-'venient time allowed them to come in.'

Although the orders ſent by the queen to her

plenipotentiaries were very preciſe, yet their lordſhips did not precipitate the performance of them. They were directed to appoint as ſhort a day for the ſigning as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular day was left to their diſcretion. They hoped to bring over the Dutch, and moſt of the other allies, to conclude at the ſame time with the queen: which, as it would certainly be more popular to their country, ſo they conceived it would be more ſafe for themſelves: beſides, upon looking over their commiſſion, a ſcruple ſprang in their minds, that they could not ſign a particular peace with France; their powers, as they apprehended, authoriſing them only to ſign a general one. Their lordſhips therefore ſent to England to deſire new powers, and, in the mean time, employed themſelves with great induſtry, between the miniſters of France and thoſe of the ſeveral allies, to find ſome expedient for ſmoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The earl of Strafford went for a few days to the Hague, to inform the ſtates of her majeſty's expreſs commands to his colleague and himſelf, for ſigning the peace as ſoon as poſſible; and to deſire they would be ready at the ſame time, which the penſionary promiſed; and that their

plenipotentiaries ſhould be impowered accordingly, to the great contentment of Monſ. Buys, who was now ſo much altered, either in reality, or appearance, that he complained to the earl of Monſ. Heinſius's ſlowneſs; and charged all the delays and miſmanagements of a twelve-month paſt, to that miniſter's account.

While the earl of Strafford ſtaid at the Hague, he diſcovered that an emiſſary of the duke of Marlborough's had been there ſome days before, ſent by his grace to diſſuade the Dutch from ſigning at the ſame time with the queen, which, in England, would at leaſt have the appearance of a ſeparate peace, and oblige their Britiſh friends, who knew how to turn ſo ſhort a delay to very good account, as well as gratify the emperor; on whom, it was alleged, they ought to rely much more than on her majeſty. One of the ſtates likewiſe told the earl, 'That the ſame perſon, 'employed by the duke, was then in conference 'with the magiſtrates of Rotterdam (which town 'had declared for the continuance of the war), 'to aſſure them, if they would hold off a little, 'they ſhould ſee an unexpected turn in the Bri-'tiſh parliament: that the duke of Marlborough 'had a liſt of the diſcontented members in both 'houſes, who were ready to turn againſt the

'court; and, to crown all, that his grace had 'certain intelligence of the queen being in ſo ill 'a ſtate of health, as made it impoſſible for her 'to live above ſix weeks.' So reſtleſs and indefatigable is avarice and ambition, when inflamed by a deſire of revenge!

But repreſentations, which had been ſo often tried, were now offered too late. Moſt of the allies, except the emperor, were willing to put an end to the war upon her majeſty's plan; and the further delay of three weeks muſt be chiefly imputed to that litigious manner of treating, peculiar to the French; whoſe plenipotentiaries at Utrecht inſiſted with obſtinacy upon many points, which at Paris Monſ. de Torcy had given up.

The emperor expected to keep all he already poſſeſſed in Italy; that Portlongue, on the Tuſcan coaſt, ſhould be delivered to him by France; and laſtly, that he ſhould not be obliged to renounce Spain. But the queen, as well as France, thought that his imperial majeſty ought to ſit down contented with his partage of Naples and Milan; and to reſtore thoſe territories in Italy, which he had taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the poſſeſſion of which he was grown dangerous to the Italian princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This prince had likewiſe objected to her majeſty's expedient of ſuffering the elector of Bavaria to retain Luxembourg, under certain conditions, by way of ſecurity, until his electorate were reſtored. But the queen, ſuppoſing that theſe affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, reſolved to defer the peace no longer on the emperor's account.

In the middle of March, 1712-13, a courier arrived at Utrecht from France, with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed between the duke of Shrewſbury and Monſ. de Torcy; wherein every particular, relating to the intereſts and pretenſions of the ſeveral allies, was brought ſo near to what each of them would accept, that the Britiſh plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be general in ten or twelve days. The Portugueſe and Dutch were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by means of their lordſhips' good offices, who found Monſ. Meſnager and his colleague very ſtubborn to the laſt. Another courier was diſpatched to France, upon ſome diſputes about inſerting the titles of her majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian king, and to bring a general plan for the intereſts of theſe allies, who ſhould not be ready againſt the time prefixed. The French renunciations were now arrived at

Utrecht, and it was agreed, that thoſe, as well as that of the king of Spain, ſhould be inſerted at length in every treaty, by which means the whole confederacy would become guaranties of them.

The courier, laſt ſent to France, returned to Utrecht on the twenty-ſeventy of March, with the conceſſions of that court upon every neceſſary point; ſo that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the lord privy-ſeal and the earl of Strafford gave notice to the miniſters of the ſeveral allies, 'That 'their lordſhips had appointed Tueſday the thirty-'firſt inſtant, wherein to ſign a treaty of peace, and 'a treaty of commerce, between the queen of Great 'Britain, their miſtreſs, and the moſt Chriſtian king; 'and hoped the ſaid allies would be prepared, at 'the ſame time, to follow their example.' Accordingly their lordſhips employed the three intervening days, in ſmoothing the few difficulties that remained between the French miniſters, and thoſe of the ſeveral confederate powers.

The important day being now come, the lord biſhop of Briſtol and the earl of Strafford, having aſſumed the character of ambaſſadors extraordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the French proteſtants to the marechal de Huxelles and his

colleague, who were to tranſmit it to their court; and theſe delivered to the Britiſh ambaſſadors a declaration in writing, that the pretender was actually gone out of France.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the emperor and empire, as adjuſted betwen Britain and France, were now likewiſe delivered to the count Zinzendorf. Theſe and ſome other previous matters of ſmaller conſequence being finiſhed, the treaties of peace and commerce between her majeſty of Great Britain and the moſt Chriſtian king, were ſigned at the lord privy-ſeal's houſe between two and three of the clock in the afternoon. The miniſters of the duke of Savoy ſigned about an hour after. Then the aſſembly adjourned to the earl of Strafford's, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was ſigned by the miniſters of Portugal, by thoſe of Pruſſia at eleven, and when it was near midnight by the ſtates.

Thus after all the oppoſition raiſed by a ſtrong party in France, and by a virulent faction in Britain; after all the artifices of thoſe who preſided at the Hague, and, for their private intereſt, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in England, to prolong the war; after the reſtleſs endeavours of the imperial court to

render the treaty ineffectual; the firm ſteady conduct of the queen, the wiſdom and courage of her miniſtry, and the abilities of thoſe whom ſhe employed in her negociations abroad, prevailed to have a peace ſigned in one day by every power concerned, except that of the emperor and the empire; for his imperial majeſty liked his ſituation too well to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other ſhoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himſelf.

During this whole negociation, the king of Spain, who was not acknowleged by any of the confederates, had conſequently no miniſter at Utrecht; but the differences between her majeſty and that prince were eaſily ſettled by the lord Lexington at Madrid, and the marquis of Monteleon here; ſo that upon the duke D'Oſſuna's arrival at the congreſs, ſome days after the peace, he was ready to conclude a treaty between he queen and his maſter. Neither is it probable, that the Dutch, or any other ally, except the emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their ſeveral treaties with his catholic majeſty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between Britain and France, were ratified here on the

ſeventh of April; on the twenty-eighth the ratifications were exchanged; and on the fifth of May the peace was proclaimed in the uſual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occaſion.

THE END.